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The Shape of Things

THE SOUTHERN DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN coalition in Congress is up to its old tricks. Too vote conscious to reject outright proposals which have popular appeal, its members have developed a slick technique for cutting the vitals out of forward-looking measures. The latest victim of their reactionary surgery is the Patman emergency home-building bill, which has been passed by the House minus authorization of subsidies required to relieve material bottlenecks and minus provision for fixing prices of old houses, speculation in which is rampant. Not content with this mutilation, a diehard minority sought to freeze the bill to death by sending it back "without instructions" to the Banking and Currency Committee. Most legislators, however, were not prepared to go to these lengths, being aware that a million or more homeless veterans were watching them. Having satisfied the building-material and real-estate lobbyists by rewriting the bill into ineffectiveness, they came out for housing in general with an easy mind.

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SOMETHING VERY SIMILAR IS LIKELY TO happen to the bill prolonging the life of the OPA unless consumers join in a mighty shout of protest that will drown the clamor of the special interests. Gallup polls and other expressions of public opinion have shown that a large majority of the electors want the OPA continued after June 30. Congress will not flout this demand, but the conservative majority there will do its damnedest to cripple the bill. Already the Senate has slashed appropriations for the agency—an effective method of hampering its overworked staff. In the House plans are being concocted to procure exemptions from price ceilings for certain categories of goods, such as dairy products. Another amendment now being canvassed would require removal of price controls from any item when its production reaches pre-war levels. This would immediately remove ceilings from a number of essential products—meat is an example—supplies of which are in excess of pre-war volume but which, nevertheless, remain scarce because of the much greater effective demand at this time. If amendments of this nature are carried, the OPA, though nominally saved, will in fact have been doomed to futility.

OUR INTENTIONS IN THE MATTER OF SPAIN remain obscure. As we study the words and actions of our State Department we can hardly blame other nations for wondering what, if anything, is American foreign policy. The three-power statement was tough double-talk, and we ought not to be surprised that the Giral government received it with dismay and Franco with arrogant unconcern. Our subsequent coyness to the French proposal to submit the matter to the Security Council fully justifies both reactions. In one of the documents recently released with the three-power statement Hitler writes to Franco: "Only in the case of our victory will your present regime continue to exist." Hitler knew what he was talking about. Franco was his junior partner, wholeheartedly devoted to him. Franco's Spain was a useful supplier to Nazi war needs, a useful base for Nazi espionage. More than that, Franco's Spain, as Professor Sanchez Sarto demonstrates on another page, during the war became completely integrated into the colonial order of Nazi Germany. When that order and its leaders went down in utter destruction before the Allied arms, it seemed logical, inevitable, that Franco too would go. For there was nothing to hold him up. Nothing, that is, except the props supplied him by the faltering voices of the victorious democracies. Surely the time has come now to blast out those props. The loud, stern voice of democracy, which has been silent too long, would have a cleansing effect in the confusion of power politics today.

*

WE DON'T BLAME R. J. THOMAS FOR PUTTING up a fight to retain the presidency of the United Automobile Workers against a strongly backed challenge by Walter Reuther. But we are sorry to see him resorting to tactics which play into the hands of General Motors. Addressing a meeting of presidents of union locals called to pass on the Ford contract, Mr. Thomas went out of his way to make an unfair attack on Reuther. "Where is my opponent today?" he asked. "Is he trying to settle the General Motors strike? . . . That's what he should be doing. He's more worried about taking my job." These words are sure to be picked up with avidity by the General Motors vice-president, Harry Anderson, as justification for his recent charge that union politics were

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delaying a settlement of the strike. Mr. Anderson told reporters that a return to work probably would not take place until after the Atlantic City convention of the union beginning March 23 because candidates for office, jockeying for position, were unwilling to take responsibility for coming to terms. Actually, if Walter Reuther could go to the convention with a satisfactory contract in his pocket, his chances of victory over Thomas would be greatly enhanced. Aware of this, General Motors executives appear to be playing union politics themselves, holding up a settlement with a view to defeating Reuther, whose ability, courage, and drive they rightly fear. At least it is hard to explain otherwise their refusal to arbitrate the few remaining points of disagreement between the company and the union.

✶

SOME OF THE FINEST WORDS IN FREEDOM'S vocabulary grace the new constitution proposed for Japan, but before becoming too optimistic, we should be wise to remember that the document is the product of a government absolutely lacking in democratic elements. The proposed constitution is merely one more concession which Japan's "old gang" has had to make under pressure from the Japanese people and the occupation authorities. And while the people have seized their opportunity to establish a democratic press and begin rebuilding their shattered political and labor organizations, the old order still retains the substance of power. The vitally important Home Ministry, for instance, which controls the police and has sole responsibility for the conduct of the coming elections, as well as for passing on candidates, has been virtually unchanged by General MacArthur's well-publicized purges. While top military fascists have been arrested as war criminals, they have almost invariably been succeeded by former subordinates with similar outlook but less conspicuous records. Under these circumstances it is not surprising that the fine words of our directives have been sabotaged. The new constitution will receive the same treatment so long as the present Japanese bureaucracy remains.

✶

AMERICANS CAN NOW SEND AID DIRECTLY to anti-Nazi survivors of the resistance inside Germany and their families. The miracle is that they are not all dead. Gestapo records show that they were being arrested at the rate of 3,000 a month as late as the first six months of 1944. Since V-E Day the survivors have been quietly dying of hunger. Infant mortality rates are a significant index: one out of four children in Germany dies in its first year. Last week a Presidential order created CRALOG (Council of Relief Agencies Licensed for Operation in Germany) and designated the International Rescue and Relief Committee as one of eleven member agencies authorized to give relief in Germany.

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All funds, food, and clothes contributed to the IRRC will be distributed by its representative in Germany to proved anti-Nazis and their families only. The address is 103 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York.

*

AT GENEVA, HOME OF THE REFORMATION, a group of Protestant churchmen recently held a conference which was crowded off the front pages by the highly publicized consistory in Rome. The resolutions passed by the provisional committee of the World Council of Churches had a direct bearing on the very problems lately faced by the United Nations Assembly in London. The approach was somewhat different. People rather than powers were the main issue—the incalculable misery and want of the homeless millions in Europe and Asia; the inhumane treatment of the German populations transferred out of Poland and Czechoslovakia; the particular claims of Europe's Jews rotting in the displaced-persons camps; the muddled policy of the Allies on Germany, which pointed toward no rebirth of freedom. These problems, declared the committee, are not only the responsibility of governments and the United Nations Organization but must press upon the consciences of the people of the more fortunate lands, the people of the great churches which long ago professed the faith that the world is one. It is a satisfaction to know that the provisional committee set up a Commission of International Relations which will seek "to stimulate the churches of all nations to a more vigorous expression of the demands of the Christian conscience in relation to the political policies of government." *The Nation* is particularly glad that its associate, Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr, has been named one of the American representatives.

Churchill's 'Union Now'

NEXT to the remarkable ineptness of President Truman's apparent sponsorship, the most painful aspect of Winston Churchill's speech at Westminster College was its timing. Coming on top of the get-tough-with-Russia sentiments expressed by Senator Vandenberg and Secretary of State Byrnes, the Churchill blast at the Soviets has been widely interpreted as a logical extension of the Americans' approach, the more so because the President saw fit, as Churchill said, "to travel a thousand miles to dignify and magnify" the occasion. But the sober and reassuring truth is that there is a vast gulf between the Churchill and the Byrnes-Vandenberg positions. The differences should be sounded like a foghorn in the murky atmosphere that is settling down over the Big Three.

The two Americans, to begin with, focused their attention on the United Nations Organization, its successes to date, the hopes for its future, the need to strengthen it, and the absolute necessity of dealing solely through its machinery with the waywardness of any one power. Churchill, in contrast, told the world that he lacked "the same confidence or even the same hopes" in the UNO that he had entertained for the sterilized League of Nations back in 1920. Second, where Byrnes emphasized that "in this world there is room for many people with varying views and many governments with varying systems," Churchill raised to the status of an international menace the activities of Communist parties "seeking everywhere to obtain totalitarian control." Above all, Byrnes opposed any change in the "power relationships" of the great states for fear of "profoundly disturbing the whole structure of the United Nations," while Churchill would weld the Anglo-American world into a solid unit of power. Byrnes pledged that "we will gang up against no state," but Churchill's whole thesis for a "fraternal association of the English-speaking powers" was a bold call for a military alliance. Byrnes, in short, talked like a man determined on peace, Churchill like a man committed to war.

To Churchill, fighting for the continued greatness of England, a junior partnership with the United States undoubtedly holds out hope, and if the question could be threshed out in a vacuum, he could make an excellent case. The empire is in flames—in Egypt, in India, in the Near East—and is challenged at its most vital spots by the rising power of the Russians. A Western bloc has been ruled out by pressure on France and the Scandinavian countries from the Soviets, which would look upon such an arrangement with fear and belligerent antagonism. The only way out, to a Tory mind, is the kind of link-up with the United States that Churchill has proposed. But not all Englishmen are Tories, and the best of Britain's leaders surely see that their country's hope lies in converting the empire into a genuine commonwealth of free nations—a union ready-made, in which Britain's 40,000,000 people could count on the raw materials they need through the preferential treatment accorded by equals rather than the exploitation of colonial subjects. Only in this way can England undermine the Communist influence of which Churchill complains, and only in this way can England assure the welfare of its population without altering those "power relationships" which Mr. Byrnes sees as the foundations of world peace.

Apart from the nature of his motives, Churchill has adopted a strategy and a tone that will serve neither the good of Britain nor the cause of world peace. He has added a sizable measure of poison to the already deteriorating relations between Russia and the Western powers. He has given the Soviets ground to intensify their unilateral pursuit of security, and at the same time "confirmed" the Wheelers in their shrill contention that the war to save democracy was in reality a war to spread communism. He has undermined faith in the UNO at a

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moment when it is struggling to assert its first dignity and strength. He has stiffened the necks of those ostriches who think to keep the atomic bomb a secret. And, ironically, he has prejudiced the chances of the loan to Britain by arousing once again the suspicions of those who fear to be drawn into a defense of the British Empire.

Altogether a bad day's work, and one that can be undone only if Messrs. Attlee and Bevin make it clear to the world that the policies of Britain are determined at Westminster on the Thames, and not at Westminster College, Missouri.

Hold the New Line!

TO JUDGE by press comments, the Administration's new wage-price policy is doomed to failure. Both the C. I. O. and the A. F. of L. have attacked it for requiring government approval of wage increases, and John L. Lewis has indicated that the United Mine Workers will demand increases considerably in excess of the maximum set by the Administration. In Congress the farm bloc threatens to go on the warpath again with a demand for a new method of computing parity which would prevent stabilization of prices and wages on the new level. Big business is uncompromisingly opposed to the whole program; reflecting the disappointment of speculators who had envisioned an era of unrestricted profits like the lush '20's, Wall Street suffered its sharpest relapse in more than five years. Leading financial papers such as the *Wall Street Journal* have launched a non-stop campaign of abuse against Mr. Bowles and price control of any kind. The National Association of Manufacturers is combating extension of the Price Control Act beyond June 30.

It is easy to point out flaws in the Administration's new formula. Since it represents a middle course between the views of those who want to see the price line rigidly held and of groups hell bent for inflation, it really satisfies no one. In opening the door to price increases throughout industry and coupling them to wage increases, Mr. Truman has set in motion a chain of events that will be extremely difficult to stop. Marriner Eccles, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, was merely uttering an economic platitude when he declared that in the present economic situation wage increases are justifiable only if paid out of profits without price increases. And there is considerable evidence to confirm his estimate that as a result of the new policy living costs will rise 10 per cent, even though Mr. Bowles hopes to limit the rise to half that amount.

But this is no time to hold out for perfectionism in our economic policies. Although wages and prices are fundamentally economic matters, it is idle to pretend that the Administration could be guided by economic considerations alone. In labor's demand for take-home pay comparable to that earned during the war were psychological factors that could not be ignored. And while the most recent corporation-earnings reports do not indicate any general squeeze on profits, it is obvious that, in many instances, meeting labor's demands would cut into earnings sufficiently to cause considerable mental distress on Wall Street. Although we regret that Mr. Truman gave way as much as he did to these pressures, some sort of retreat from the war-time price line was inevitable. Now that the retreat has started, only one course of action is open to public-spirited citizens. That is to rally to the support of Mr. Bowles and his new Price Administrator in their efforts to establish and hold a new line.

Despite the outcry of business and farm groups, we believe that Mr. Bowles has the backing of the overwhelming majority of the American people. The C. I. O. has come out strongly for the continuation of strengthening of price controls. Among the more independent business groups, the Committee for Economic Development has urged the extension of the Price Control Act, and Henry J. Kaiser, head of twenty-five industries operating fifty plants, has not only asked Congress to continue price ceilings but has urged a reinstatement of war-time allocation controls. If housewives and ordinary consumers were organized half as well as the dominant business groups, Congress would be feeling the effect of their insistence on more vigorous measures to control inflation. But because consumers are largely unorganized, there is grave doubt whether the OPA will receive sufficient funds to do its job. Last week the Senate cut $1,677,000 from the agency's budget. Yet its task has been immensely increased by the necessity of reviewing virtually all its existing price schedules and enforcing its decisions against widespread business hostility.

Strengthening of our price-control machinery, however, is only one of the important steps that must be taken if inflation is to be prevented. We must be on guard against additional tax cuts, against a further relaxation of controls on raw materials which are in short supply, and against liberalization of the present restrictions on credit expansion. Although the safeguards which must be maintained are of war-time origin, it is well to recall that they were imposed not against an external enemy but against people in our midst who would have taken advantage of emergency conditions to inflict untold injury on their fellow-Americans. The conditions which prompted these emergency measures will not disappear until normal production has been restored and the cost of living stabilized.

COMING IN *THE NATION*

P. E. Corbett.....*UNO—A Trial Balance*
Ignazio Silone.....*Remember How Freedom Died*
Robert Lasch.....*Homes from the Assembly Line*

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Strengthening Congress

BY MAXWELL S. STEWART

NOTHING would be more erroneous than to judge the importance of the report of the Joint Committee on the Organization of Congress by the meager amount of newspaper space given it. This is no ordinary Congressional committee report. Nor is it a run-of-the-mill proposal for Congressional reorganization. It is in many ways an extraordinary document. Recognizing that a "grave constitutional crisis exists in which the fate of representative government is at stake," the committee made a valiant, and unique, attempt to come to grip with fundamentals. While many of its proposals necessarily deal with superficial details—such as the raising of Congressional and staff salaries, the creation of a stenographic pool, and the improvement of restaurant facilities—the bulk of the report is given over to issues that are undeniably central in any program for forging Congress into an effective legislative instrument. Some of its recommendations were unexpectedly good; there were few to which serious exception should be taken; but in many instances the committee stopped just short of proposals that would eliminate the defects that it clearly recognized.

Few will care to dispute, for example, the committee's proposals for streamlining legislative procedures. Recommendations are made for lifting many non-essential burdens from Congressional backs—such as governing the District of Columbia—for strengthening the control over expenditures, for expediting legislative business, and for requiring that every bill be accompanied by a readable, non-technical digest so that it may be readily understood. So far, so good. But in speaking of speeding up legislative procedures the committee is strangely silent on the two most defenseless of all practices for delaying and perverting the legislative will—the filibuster and the restrictive powers of the House Rules Committee. Nor does it come to grips with the practice that is the greatest of all Congressional time-wasters—the use of Congressmen as errand boys for their constituents. Each Congressman, it is true, is to be given an $8,000 administrative assistant, together with other research and technical aid, which is supposed to relieve him of a large part of his non-legislative load. Yet this merely gives legal sanction to the Congressman's dubious function of lobbying for his constituents in the administrative agencies.

The proposals for a reorganization of the standing committees of the House and Senate are in many ways better than was expected. The Senate's thirty-three committees are to be merged into sixteen, and the House's forty-eight into eighteen. House and Senate rules are to be amended to avoid overlapping or conflicts over the jurisdiction of the various committees. Unfortunately, however, the proposed House and Senate committees are still not entirely parallel, thus precluding the economy of joint sessions. No effort seems to have been made, moreover, to plan the new committees in such a way as to correspond, wherever possible, to the administrative departments. Had this been done it would have greatly simplified the task of reviewing administrative operation, which is to be lodged, under the Joint Committee's recommendation, in the standing committees.

Regarding the most glaring evil in the present committee system—the seniority rule—the Joint Committee is conspicuously silent. Although it would trim the authority of the committee chairmen in several respects, it makes no suggestions for improving the quality of chairmanship or for a more democratic method of selection. Its failure to come to grips with this problem is particularly distressing because a reduction in the number of committees would tend to put more concentrated power in the hands of the remaining chairmen, thus making it easier for a small group of undefeatable representatives from the poll-tax states to exercise effective control over all legislative matters. Seniority rule is one of the chief obstacles to the creation of an effective system of party responsibility in the United States. This has been evident time and time again in recent years, when committees that were theoretically dominated by the majority party have held up or emasculated essential parts of the Administration's legislative program.

In an effort to assure greater party discipline and provide the mechanism for a system of party responsibility, the Joint Committee proposed the establishment of majority and minority policy committees in the two branches of Congress. In order to escape the dead hand of seniority, these committees would be chosen by party caucus at the beginning of each Congress. And to provide the badly needed teamwork between Congress and the Executive, the majority policy committees of the House and Senate would meet regularly with the President and members of the Cabinet to formulate basic national policy. This is by far the most significant recommendation in the Joint Committee's report; yet its significance has been almost completely overlooked by the press. If put into effect, this country will have for the first time a machinery for working out a coordinated legislative program for which the majority party would be clearly responsible to the public. The program of the opposition could be similarly clarified and tested by public opinion.

It is unfortunate that the promise of this proposal should be so largely nullified by the Joint Committee's timidity in dealing with issues like the filibuster and seniority rule. Fortunately, it is still possible to raise these issues on the floor of both houses when the program comes up for Congressional consideration.

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U. S. and U. S. S. R.

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, March 10

THE past seven days have been a kind of war-with-Russia week in the capital. Before plunging, much beyond my depth, into the complexities of Iranian, Bulgarian, Turkish, and Manchurian politics, I should like to set down a few tentative observations which may provide a framework for understanding what is going on.

It seems to me that there are three basic problems involved in our relations with the Soviet Union. The first arises from the fact that every great war upsets the balance of power; a new balance must be established and stabilized to maintain peace among the victors. The second arises from the fact that the Russians, having suffered severely in the war, are acutely conscious of their security needs; some peaceful means for meeting them must be found. The third arises from the fact that we are the possessors of the most frightful weapon yet discovered by man; we should be uneasy if it were in the U. S. S. R.'s exclusive possession.

The adjustments required must be made with due consideration for the needs of our other major ally, Great Britain. Means must be found to allow for the Soviet Union's legitimate needs in a way which will not harm the equally legitimate security requirements of Britain. This requires changes in the status quo ante, and such changes are naturally painful for a great world empire like Britain's. The preservation of peace also requires another sacrifice on Britain's part, and that is the development of a genuinely progressive colonial policy which will satisfy the aspirations of its subject peoples for self-government. They will otherwise look to Russia for inspiration, and add to the forces making for war.

In such a context one would say that the Soviet Union had a legitimate security interest in the Dardanelles and in the Dodecanese Islands, which command the approach to them; these are as much the U. S. S. R.'s "lifeline" as Gibraltar is Britain's and Panama our own. But one would also say that the Soviet Union had no legitimate security interest in Tripolitania, which lies athwart Britain's own lifeline to the Suez. In such a context one would also recognize that the Soviet Union had a legitimate interest in the Middle East. Britain no longer has the power to bottle Russia up in the Black Sea or to keep it out of the Middle Eastern oil preserve. Nor does it have the right to do so, in a truly international system. One can also recognize that, given a willingness to make the concessions indicated, Britain would have a right to some special guaranties from the United States. One could also say that the British might be wiser to make these adjustments on their own, to avoid becoming an American dependent and to be in a position to play an independent role vis-a-vis both the United States and the U. S. S. R. It need hardly be noted that there were no such perspectives in the Churchill speech at Fulton, but only a naked call for an Anglo-American alliance against the Soviet Union in defense of the status quo.

It is not Britain alone which must make concessions if a new world order is to be stabilized. The United States must recognize that to talk in implicit terms of "democracy" in Eastern Europe, in the Middle East, in the Far East, and in much of Latin America is usually to support small reactionary upper classes against a mass of ignorant and miserable people. The latter are certain to swing toward communism, and thus to poison relations between the West and the Soviet Union, unless we are willing to make our vast capital resources available for the development of these areas in conjunction with our Allies and with the people who live there. It need hardly be noted that as yet we show little willingness to participate in such a program; on the contrary, even the loan to Britain may pass only because Churchill has made an ingratiating appeal to rightist elements more interested in fighting Russia than in helping England. He antagonized old friends like Pepper and won the applause of old enemies like Wheeler.

The financial sphere is not the only one in which the United States must shoulder new responsibilities. It is quite true that the United States cannot, if peace is to be preserved, give in to unlimited expansionist demands by the Soviet Union. But the question to be answered is whether they are unlimited, and where we draw the limit. We must consider each dispute on its merits, adopt concrete policies, and be prepared both to negotiate compromises and to stand firm. The difference between Churchill's speech and those of Vandenberg and Dulles is that the former shuts the door on such negotiation. The difference between the speeches of Vandenberg and Dulles and the address made by Secretary Byrnes at the Overseas Press Club is that the latter invites peaceful discussion. It promises that we will "gang up against no state," that we will seek to do more than "to defend the dead hand of reaction," that our diplomacy will not be "inert," that it will develop "constructive proposals."

Unfortunately, there is as yet no sign here that this aspect of the Secretary's address is being carried out. The other aspect of it, the firm line, is evident enough. There is little doubt that our protests on Iran and Manchuria are justified, though our protest on Bulgaria would be

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improved if our representative in Sofia, Maynard Barnes, had not been working so openly with reactionary elements. But it is not enough to protest infractions of agreement; it is necessary to sit down and discuss grievances concretely and to leave no justification for such infractions. For as long as the Russians feel that in effect we have no policy on the Dardanelles and on Iranian oil other than to preserve the status quo, as long as they feel themselves menaced by the atom bomb, as long as they feel that America and Britain have ganged up on them, they will put security ahead of treaty obligations.

The incredible naivete and clumsiness of the President in involving himself with the Churchill speech and the savage undercover campaign against Secretary Byrnes as an "appeaser" make it very difficult for the Russians to believe that we really desire to live in peace with them. These developments and the atom bomb overshadow all else. But there is another question to which I sought an answer during the past week in many quarters of the State Department and the government—the question of whether on such key issues as Iranian oil and the Straits we did, in fact, have a policy, whether we had worked out a program, whether we had discussed any concrete compromise proposal with the Russians. I got the impression that there was no such program and that the State Department was still the same kind of uncoordinated place in which the Secretary proposes but the little career clique disposes.

The alternative is not war tomorrow or the next day, but the assumption that war must come sooner or later. And that assumption will throw its shadow over every aspect of foreign and domestic policy. Abroad it must affect our policies toward Germany, Japan, and Spain, for all may be needed as allies. At home, as indicated by the new army orders barring the "subversive" and "disaffected" from "sensitive" military matters, it must curtail civil liberties in preparation for war. And war, with the atom bomb, will mean Finis for all of us.

Spain—a Nazi Colony

BY MANUEL SANCHEZ SARTO

Formerly professor of political economy at Barcelona, now at the Mexican School of Economics; author and translator of numerous works of economic history

IN ITS issue of September 22, 1940, the *Deutsche Bergwerke Zeitung* of Düsseldorf carried an article entitled The Basis of Spain's Economic Prosperity. Among other things this article said: "As the authoritarian powers consolidate their political rule in Europe, their influence on the economy of this continent will increase and economic liberalism will correspondingly decline. This tendency will particularly affect the character of the Spanish economy, which before the national revolution of July, 1936, was the object of systematic exploitation by the Western democracies." Expanding this idea, it said: "Germany is in an excellent position to contribute to the economic development of Spain, because the similarity of its political system to that of Spain excludes the suspicion of a sinister political motive. German industry can to a large extent satisfy the needs of the Spanish market and will be well compensated by receiving in exchange the riches of the Spanish soil and subsoil."

Two days later the *Frankfurter Volksblatt* hailed the arrival in Berlin of Serrano Suñer, whom it described as "a typical representative of the new Spain, now undergoing the economic, social, and political transformation experienced earlier in Germany and Italy." Spanish imports quickly became a theme for Nazi propagandists. The success of their campaign is revealed in the following table showing Spanish exports to various countries in 1935 and 1941:

1935 (*Figures in millions of pesetas*)		1941	
England	127.4	Germany	161.7
Germany	74.8	Italy	49.4
France	68.9	U. S.	42.4
U. S.	55.9	England	40.1
Argentina	31.7	France	16.3
Italy	19.6	Argentina	5.0

England, it will be seen, which once headed the list of importers, had dropped to fourth place, while the two Axis partners were taking more than half the total and more than twice as much as England and the United States combined.

A specific example of how the Franco-Hitler economic alliance operated is provided by the figures for Spanish orange exports:

1935 (*Figures in millions of pesetas*)		1941	
France	28.8	Germany	81.8
Germany	27.1	England	6.9
England	23.2	France	3.7
Belgium	7.2	Switzerland	3.1

In conformity with an agreement between the German Bureau for Vine and Garden Products and the Spanish Citrus Growers' Association, almost the entire Spanish crop from 1941 on was consigned to Germany. This transaction was financed in part by a semi-official group headed by the Citrus Growers' Association and the Spanish Export-Import Bank and including a few private

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banks, such as the Banco Central. The total credits involved amounted to 50,000,000 reichsmarks. Payments, instead of being made directly to the Spanish exporters, were deposited in a special "clearing account" of the German Reichsbank; the legitimate creditors never received more than a part settlement in depreciated pesetas.

Another example is offered by the olive-oil industry. Before World War II Spain produced about 40 per cent (360,000 tons) of the world's annual supply of olive oil. After the needs of the Spanish domestic market were met, about 80,000 tons remained for export; this went chiefly to Italy, where the oil was further refined and then reexported. In 1939, however, under the aegis of Germany, Spain set out to corner the world market both as exporter and refiner. The Franco government that year authorized the construction of some 200 new refineries, the expansion of existing facilities, and the construction of another 30 plants where new German techniques for making glycerine and lubricants and for hydrogenizing oils could be tested. Curiously enough, the Spanish government has issued no figures on olive-oil exports for several years, stating only that in 1943 exports to European countries—read Germany—were stabilized while exports to America had sharply declined. Though trainloads of oil were rolling toward the Pyrenees, the cars marked *Sobrante de España* (Spanish surplus), domestic supplies were ruthlessly curtailed. Hindered by the shortage of oil, the fish-canning industry turned to conserving in salt and *Ersatz* liquids.

While German warehouses were bursting with Spanish foodstuffs and the Spanish people starved, Franco was putting the finishing touches on a grand "ten-year plan" for the transformation of industry, by which he aimed to avoid the necessity of importing Allied products and to create favorable conditions for German enterprise. In 1941 and 1942 new industrial installations costing 911.6 million pesetas were authorized by the government; this amount was topped in 1943. In consequence Spain became increasingly dependent on Axis industrial techniques and patents, the government was obliged to impose new taxes on an already suffering people, and semi-official enterprises and private banks reaped staggering war profits.

The greatest development occurred in the chemical industry. The government's aim was to improve the balance of trade by manufacturing nitrogen products and other materials which had formerly been imported, such as mineral oils and their derivatives, wood distillates, and the like. Early in 1942 the Spanish Nitrogen Company drew up plans for two new fertilizer plants at Valencia and Murcia. The 1941 report of the National Industrial Institute stated that equipment for the manufacture of fertilizer had been promised by Germany and would arrive shortly.

Hidro Nitro España, a company operating at Monzón, Huesca, had a capital of 85 million pesetas at the end of 1942; by 1943 it had risen to 125 million pesetas. Hidro Nitro favored nationalization of the nitrogen industry because of its key role in the manufacture of explosives. A government decree of December 27, 1942, declared the nitrogen industry to be of national importance. New machinery was furnished by I. G. Farben, and production of ammonium sulphate rose to 400,000 tons a year. Another company, Ibérica del Nitrógeno, produced 10,000 tons of ammonium sulphate in 1942. Ibérica had formerly had a contract with a French company, Air Liquide; now it entered into a financial arrangement with a German firm.

Other firms participated in the government's so-called Nitrogen Plan: Sefanitro Baracaldo, with a capital of 150 million pesetas in 1943, utilized gas from the coke furnaces of Altos Hornos de Viscayao and produced about 120,000 tons of ammonium sulphate annually; Nicas of Valladolid, with a capital of 100 million pesetas in 1943, used power from the Duero dams and produced 64,000 tons of nitrates annually. Government subventions already granted or under consideration totaled more than 1,000 million pesetas by 1943. Yet despite the enormous expansion of the nitrogen industry, harvests, especially the cereal crops, suffered from a lack of fertilizer.

The Spanish textile industry concentrated mainly on the production of synthetic fibers used in the manufacture of rayon and cellulose wool. In addition, it experimented with cereal, rice, esparto, and genista grasses in the hope of obtaining a fiber which would enable it to eliminate the importation of artifical fibers and reduce cotton imports by a third. In 1942 Spanish trade papers were describing "glass stockings" and parachute cloth made out of synthetic fibers produced from coal, and reporting on new developments in the use of German *perluran*, the equivalent of the American nylon.

Under the government's textile plan as outlined in a decree dated March 14, 1940, a number of new factories were built. Machinery and considerable capital were supplied by Germany. Patents came from Germany, Italy, and—in the case of the extraction of fibers from rice grasses—from Japan. One of the large concerns with a capital of 172 million pesetas worked with eucalyptus wood from Santander; its annual production of 3,500 tons of rayon and 3,500 tons of staple fiber surpassed the combined production of all its Spanish competitors.

And so we could go on, telling of developments in numerous other industries by which the Spanish economy was firmly welded to that of the Reich. The public debt of the Franco government and Spanish export credits frozen in Axis countries constitute another fascinating aspect of this picture—the Condor debt of 230 million marks to Germany, the Italian war debt of 5,000 million liras, settled in May, 1941, by the issuance of 5,000 Spanish treasury bonds of a million liras each, and the 500 million marks frozen in the clearing house of the Reichsbank. Franco Spain—number one Axis colony!

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Sons of the Wild Jackass—1946

BY RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Magazine writer and journalist; author of books on the social and political problems of the Northwest

Seattle, February 28

GEORGE H. MOSES'S derisive reference, during the halcyon days of Old Guard rule, to a plucky little group of Senate progressives as "sons of the wild jackass" became a name that stuck. Eventually the progressives gloried in the title, for it meant champions of the people at a time when privilege and corruption were politically triumphant.

Moses originally applied the phrase to farm-belt Senators from the northern Great Plains, led by the illustrious Norris of Nebraska. Today he would have to look 20 degrees of longitude farther west, to the Columbia River Basin, to find a similar group. The Middle West is no longer the habitat of sons of the wild jackass; it now produces some of the most reactionary men in Congress. Revolt is bred today in the country's upper left-hand corner, in the Pacific Northwest. No other region sends such consistently liberal delegations to Washington.

The support that valley authorities find in Congress is a case in point. The Missouri Valley Authority is bitterly opposed by Senators of that valley, whereas the Mitchell bill for a regional authority in the vast watershed of the Columbia is favored by a majority of the Northwest's representatives. "Cowboy Glen" Taylor, the singing Senator from Idaho, also illustrates my thesis. When he arrived in the capital last year with a guitar and a ten-gallon hat, correspondents thought he was another Pappy O'Daniel. But Glen is the exact opposite of his yodeling colleague from Texas. During his first year in the Senate he advocated public power, fair employment practices, fewer tax rebates to industry, international control of the atomic process, and the confirmation of such men as Aubrey Williams and Henry A. Wallace.

The resurgence of liberalism in the Northwest is most marked in the Democratic Party and the state of Washington but is not the exclusive possession of either of these. Senator Wayne L. Morse of Oregon, a Republican, is waging a heroic fight against the tories in his own party. Senator James E. Murray of Montana, a Roosevelt Democrat, has been in the forefront of nearly every liberal crusade undertaken in recent years.

A number of factors are responsible for the progressivism of the Northwest's delegation on Capitol Hill. One is the people's general acceptance of the idea of public ownership of electric power after long years of agitation by Homer Bone, Jim O'Sullivan, Clarence Dill, and the late J. D. Ross. The influence of these men was far-reaching, for the Columbia River has 42 per cent of America's water-power in its rocky canyons. The Grange nationally is a conservative organization; in Oregon, Washington, and Idaho it has led the demand for public ownership. At Spokane last week representatives of the Grange, the A. F. of L., and the C. I. O. formed a league to promote the Columbia Valley Authority. Opposition in the Northwest to a CVA is confined largely to the utility companies and their confederates.

Another reason for the Northwest's tendency to send liberals to Congress is found in its enthusiasm for Roosevelt. Outside the solid South F. D. R. received his largest proportionate majorities in this region. In 1936, for example, he got 60 per cent of the vote in New York and 64 per cent in Virginia, but he got 66 per cent in Washington and 67 per cent in Oregon. Mon Wallgren, an Everett jeweler; John Coffee, a Tacoma lawyer; Jim Murray, a Butte multimillionaire; and Glen Taylor, a Pocatello yodeler of "Oh, Susanna!" all got their political start as last-ditch supporters of Roosevelt.

Of the Northwest's eight Senators, five can be relied on to perform with consistent liberalism. They are Murray of Montana, Morse of Oregon, Taylor of Idaho, and Warren Magnuson and Hugh B. Mitchell of Washington. Wheeler of Montana is progressive on many domestic issues, although his bitter personal grudge against Roosevelt led him astray in 1937. Charles Gossett, the junior Senator from Idaho, is a pussyfooting Democrat who probably will support Truman a good part of the time. Only one Northwestern Senator is an outright reactionary—Morse's colleague, Guy Cordon, an ally of Taft on most critical issues.

The region has also done well by the House of Representatives. No Congressman displays greater courage on perilous issues than John M. Coffee of Tacoma, who has fought a lonely fight for nearly ten years against Spanish fascism, both in Spain and south of the Gulf of California. Coffee has three colleagues who support him in vital matters—Henry M. Jackson of Everett, Hugh De Lacy of Seattle, and a logger from the Cascade woods named Charlie Savage. These men all voted against continuing the infamous Dies committee.

Montana is ribbed by the Continental Divide. East of this towering wall the state has Republican representation in the House. West of it, on the Columbia River watershed, the people have elected Mike Mansfield, a forty-two-year-old university professor who fought in the last war at the age of thirteen and wore a marine sergeant's gold chevrons in Shanghai when he

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was only sixteen. Mansfield was twice sent by Roosevelt to observe the muddled Chinese situation. The Murray forces hope to run him against Wheeler this year, but Mansfield has not committed himself to the race.

Utah, whose upper left-hand corner is in the Columbia's watershed, also contributes a valuable liberal delegation. The Mormon state, once dominated completely by the pious Reed Smoot and his confederates, has two New Dealers in the Senate—scholarly Elbert Thomas, who fills Smoot's seat, and Abe Murdock, up from the House's liberal bloc. Utah's two Representatives, J. W. Robinson and Walter Granger, are also liberals. Granger roundly scolded his fellow-Democrats for abandoning the Senate's full-employment bill for a pale House substitute.

Just as Congressmen from the South have a way of turning out to be reactionary, regardless of their antecedents, those from the Northwest prove happily progressive. In 1945 Mon Wallgren, just elected Governor of Washington, chose his thirty-eight-year-old secretary to fill his place in the Senate. Many persons had doubts about Hugh Mitchell. He had never occupied public office before. He was shy, and full of "book learning." Wallgren was bombarded with protests. But Mitchell has silenced the skeptics. He has led the fight for the Columbia Valley Authority, taken up the cudgels against allowing Alcoa to monopolize the aluminum industry on the Columbia, and voted liberally on all major questions.

Senator Morse

No list of the Northwest's liberals is complete without the name of Edward L. (Bob) Bartlett, the first graduate of the University of Alaska ever to occupy public office. Bartlett was elected delegate from Alaska in 1944 with the backing of Governor Ernest Gruening. He has used his voteless seat in the House to assail the shipping and cannery monopolies in the Territory.

The political upheaval in the Far West has received less attention than that along the Atlantic seaboard, but it has been more complete. The states beyond the Continental Divide were once the happy hunting ground of the Republicans. The G. O. P. was supreme there during the administrations of Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover. Twenty years ago the Democrats had only these offices: in Arizona, the governorship, one senatorship, one House seat; in California, two House seats; in Colorado, one House seat; in Idaho, none; in Montana, the governorship, two senatorships, one House seat; in Utah, the governorship, one senatorship; in Oregon, none; in Nevada, one senatorship; in New Mexico, two senatorships, one House seat; in Washington, one senatorship, one House seat; in Wyoming, one senatorship.

A generation later, this is how they fare in the same states: in Arizona, the governorship, two senatorships, two House seats; in California, one senatorship, sixteen House seats; in Colorado, one senatorship; in Idaho, the governorship, two senatorships, one House seat; in Montana, two senatorships, one House seat; in Utah, the governorship, two senatorships, two House seats; in Oregon, none; in Nevada, the governorship, two senatorships, one House seat; in New Mexico, the governorship, two senatorships, two House seats; in Washington, the governorship, two senatorships, four House seats; in Wyoming, the governorship, one senatorship; in Alaska, the one delegate.

The most conspicuous failure of the Democrats has been in Oregon, where a group of anti-Roosevelt diehards has kept control of the party. There the liberal mantle has been worn by such Republicans as Wayne Morse and the late Senator Charles L. McNary. The leading Democrats in Oregon are opposed to public power and the FEPC; they cater to local hysteria against Japanese Americans. As a result the Republicans have kept the inside track, and although Roosevelt carried Oregon four times, Democrats in the state have been denied political victories.

No other Presidential candidate in history was so popular in the West as Franklin D. Roosevelt. In the eleven Western states, in his four races, he won forty-one of forty-four contests. He failed to carry Wyoming in 1944 and Colorado in 1940 and 1944. Elsewhere west of the Continental Divide he was always victorious.

Roosevelt was not unaware that Democratic nominees do not win unless they carry the West—it was California that gave the victory to Woodrow Wilson at the eleventh hour in 1916—and Mr. Truman and his associates should take this to heart. If they are not consistently liberal on such issues as power, timber conservation, and labor they stand to lose the West. Without the West they cannot retain the Presidency. Mr. Truman's recent letter to the National Reclamation Association, an organization opposed to valley authorities, in which he failed to mention the word "power," has not found favor in this region. Franklin Roosevelt told the same organization that "when power is possible of development, it is not to be overlooked or underestimated."

Wayne Morse has been writing progressives in Oregon urging them to withdraw from the Democratic Party and prepare for independent political action. Morse's

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Presidential favorite is apparently Harold Stassen. Western liberals will want to know more about Stassen's views on domestic problems before they abandon the party of F. D. R. Governor Wallgren of Washington, Truman's closest friend in the West, insists that eventually the President will stand precisely where Roosevelt stood with respect to public power. Wallgren is an active advocate of the CVA, and his opinion will be accepted until proved wrong.

A candidate's attitude toward public power has often been the decisive factor in national election campaigns out West. In 1940 Willkie was running strong along the Pacific slope until George Norris visited Bonneville and Grand Coulee dams and urged the voters to stick by the man who had kept his pledged word to build these projects. After the election Senator McNary, Willkie's running mate, told me that "Norris's public-power speeches won for Roosevelt on the Pacific Coast."

Ersatz Orchids for UNO

BY AYLMER VALLANCE

The Nation's *London correspondent*

London, February 25

IN PARLIAMENT and press London has sped the United Nations Organization on its westward journey with encomiums which reflect either indomitable optimism or a high degree of insincerity. Orchids in profuse bunches for Miss UNO—but to the honest eye they have an artificial, papery look. If the peoples of the world are led to believe that this first session of the United Nations has done much toward laying the foundations of durable peace, they are being cruelly deceived.

The mechanism, it is true, has begun to take shape. The Economic and Social Council is in being, and will prepare the way for next summer's International Conference on Trade and Employment. An International Health Organization is well on the way to being launched. The Commission on Atomic Energy has been appointed, and the Military Staff Committee has begun to examine the problem of giving the UNO "teeth" in the dubious form of contingents of national armed forces earmarked for service under the Security Council's orders.

But set aside, for the moment, the proceedings in the Security Council. Can it be said that the Assembly in its approach even to the world's economic and administrative problems encouraged high hopes for the future? It passed resolutions expressing a desire that UNRRA'S resources should be augmented and that member states should collaborate to alleviate the famine which looms over half the world. But it took no step toward the one real solution for food shortage—the appointment of an International Board *with executive powers* to allocate and distribute resources. Nor was there any approach to agreement on the one practical issue which was tackled—the fate of Europe's host of emigrant refugees. Moreover, the existence of a large unfilled gap in the UNO's mechanism—the absence of the projected and vitally important Trusteeship Council—is due to the fact that the Big Five preferred to leave the whole mandate question in abeyance rather than expose their profound disagreement on every facet of that thorny issue.

It was not to be expected that the Assembly, in its first session, would burgeon into an embryonic parliament of man. The supremacy of the Big Five, enshrined in the charter, precluded any such hope. But fears that the UNO would be rendered impotent in the big-power stranglehold have been depressingly confirmed. The divisions among the Big Three in the Council permeated the whole Assembly; already the United Nations are grouped in blocs and maneuvering in the spirit of traditional power politics.

The situation is too tragic for there to be much fun in heresy hunts. Both Bevin and Vishinsky used the Council for airing national animosities. Of the two, Bevin was the more adroit. Though the use of the veto made nonsense of the Council's entire proceedings, Bevin got—in effect, though not in form—a verdict of "not-guilty" in Greece and Indonesia; and Vishinsky, though he scored in securing a free hand for Russia in bilateral negotiations with Iran, left the Foreign Secretary tactically the victor in the field. It is a singularly barren victory. Bevin may claim that he had the better of the day in this new technique of "secret diplomacy openly pursued"; but he has left the whole Russian bloc in the Assembly under the impression, not perhaps that Britain is planning war on the U. S. S. R.—there are limits even to the imaginings produced by "encirclement neurosis"—but that hostility to communism is the mainspring of British policy, and that Britain stands, wherever it can exercise influence, for reaction and capitalist exploitation. That, perhaps, was the picture which Vishinsky wanted to paint for the benefit of the Balkans and, particularly, the Middle East. He may not have troubled greatly about accuracy of aim in his charges: some mud would stick.

To say that the embittered and inconclusive wrangles between Bevin and Vishinsky in the Security Council have "enlightened the peoples" or improved international relations is grossly dishonest. What they have done is to empty the Anglo-Soviet alliance of all real content and to reveal the extent to which Britain is dependent on the United States if it is to cling, as Bevin desires, to

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the whole of its imperial heritage. Whether America is prepared unconditionally to underwrite British policy on these lines appears—on the showing made by Byrnes and Stettinius in the Security Council—to be a moot question. It was difficult to distinguish a sharp American "line"; but the United States delegation displayed a tendency to play the part of neutral "mediator"—a role which has aroused uneasy recollections of how British "mediation" was once applied in Czechoslovakia.

For the British public, now that the flags have been taken down at the Central Hall in Westminster, a grim postscript to the UNO's meeting is the government White Paper indicating that, even at the end of this year, we shall have 1,200,000 men in the armed forces, with another 500,000 engaged in making munitions for them. A cynical comment going the rounds in Parliament is that Hitler was cheaper: he, at least, produced unity among the Allies.

The Myth of World Government

BY REINHOLD NIEBUHR

Professor of Christian Ethics at Union Theological Seminary and author of "The Children of Light and the Children of Darkness: A Vindication of Democracy and a Critique of Its Traditional Defense"

THE French observer André Siegfried thought several decades ago that America was coming of age. One hopes he was right; though it is worth noting that there are many stages of maturity and we seem hardly to have reached one commensurate with the responsibilities which have been thrust upon our very powerful if very young nation. At every turn we face decisions requiring us to use our power creatively to stabilize an inchoate community of nations in a civilization which can achieve stability only in global terms.

Our hesitancies and ambiguities reveal that we have not yet overcome our adolescent pride of power or our inner insecurities. It would be the rightful function of a "liberal" movement in such a situation to furnish the nation with mature counsel, assuming that liberalism, whatever else it may be, represents a measure of detachment from the shortsighted collective impulses of a community. It must be regretfully recorded, however, that the liberal movement of America has not risen to the occasion. It is, if anything, more infantile than the nation. It proves its lack of maturity by trying to solve the complex problems of our global existence in purely logical and constitutional terms. We do not yet have a world community—only halting and hesitant beginnings toward one. American liberals, however, insist that one be brought into being by legal, constitutional, and governmental means, disregarding the fact, which history attests on every page, that governments may perfect the order and justice of a community but cannot create a community—for the simple reason that the authority of government is primarily the authority of the community itself. If the community does not exist in fact, at least in inchoate form, constitutional instruments cannot create it. The authority of law as such is slight, and the fear of police power is useful only to suppress incidental recalcitrance against the will of the community. The community cannot be coerced into basic order; the basic order must come from its innate cohesion.

These obvious facts are obscured in almost all the educational propaganda on the problems of world government put out by our international organizations. They are rightfully concerned about the fact that unabridged national sovereignty is a principle of anarchy in an interdependent world. Their answer to this problem is to call for a constitutional convention of the world or to try to persuade the new United Nations Organization to pass a law which will abridge the sovereignty of nations. This solution takes legal symbols for social realities. The principle of national sovereignty is the legal expression of the fact that national communities regard themselves as morally and politically autonomous. They have become increasingly conscious of the claims of other nations upon them and of the necessity of a larger degree of mutual accord, but they will have to reach a much higher degree of implicit abridgment of their moral freedom before it will be possible to fix and extend this moral and social gain by law.

The present accord between the nations, as expressed in the United Nations Charter, contains a "veto" provision by virtue of which no great power can be voted down in the council of the nations. This fact fills our liberals with moral and political disgust. It does of course prove that the great powers are not ready to submit unreservedly to the authority of a world organization. But this merely means that in the present state of world affairs peace cannot be maintained by a majority imposing its will upon a minority. When the minority is not a group of individuals but a nation or a group of nations, it will use its social and military power to defy a decision which has not been reached with its consent. We have, therefore, no real security against war. But there is no reason to think we could gain this security by constitutional means after having failed to establish the minimum basis for it by political means.

All the great nations insisted upon the veto power, and the United Nations Charter would hardly have

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passed the United States Senate without this provision. Russia is more insistent upon retaining the veto than we are because it is in greater danger of being voted down in the United Nations Assembly or Security Council. This fact does not deter our constitutional idealists from bombarding the ear of the Administration and the conscience of the nation with proposals for abolishing the veto. Here the constitutional answer to the problem of world peace obviously threatens the delicate and tentative degree of accord which has been achieved politically. We are professedly interested only in establishing a universal sovereignty, and we refuse to admit that we can afford greater devotion to the principle than Russia because we run less danger of being in the minority. This taint in our idealism is obvious enough to the Russians.

It must be observed in this connection that a great deal of enthusiasm for world government is explicitly anti-Russian—for instance, that of ex-Justice Owen Roberts and Clarence Streit. The theory is: let us set up a real world government; if the Russians fail to adhere so much the worse for them. These idealists are ready to bring on another world war in the name of world government. As consolation for the dire effects of so ironic a policy, we are assured that if we must have another world war it would be spiritually thrilling to fight it for the principle of world government. Some of the enthusiasm for world government is not explicitly anti-Russian but merely too naive to recognize that the effect of demanding a constitutionally perfect world order in the present situation must be to destroy the very tentative degree of mutual trust which has been achieved between the two great centers of power.

To say that there is no way of guaranteeing the peace of the world constitutionally is not to say that there are other ways of guaranteeing it. There are none. We are living in a very unsafe world; and it will be unsafe for a long time. To note the difficulty of bringing Russia into a world community does not imply that Russia's policies based on its fears are all justified. Some are; some are not. Some are reactions to our own policies, which are prompted by our own fears. Some seem to be derived from Marxist dogmatism. But there they are. They cannot be overcome by constitutional means unless they are first mitigated by a great deal more common counsel and common experience.

The excessive devotion to constitutional answers for world problems in America seems to be a dubious inheritance from the whole "social-contract" theory of government with which the liberal democratic movement began. According to this theory men and nations create communities by the fiat of government and law. That all human communities had a long history of organic cohesion before they ever began explicitly and consciously to alter or extend it is ignored. One reason why the idea of the social contract has special prestige in America is our belief that we created a nation by constitutional fiat; and we think it our special business to ask the world to do in macrocosm what we so successfully accomplished in microcosm. This analogy fails to consider that the cohesion of a national community is so different from the organization of a universal community that the difference is one of kind rather than degree. It also leaves out of account an important aspect of our history. If our Constitution created a "more perfect union," the union which the Constitution perfected had already been established. The fear of a common foe, the shared experiences of the battlefield, a very considerable degree of similar culture—these and many other factors provided the cohesion of the American colonies. The Constitution could not have created a unity which it had to presuppose.

Emory Reves in his "Anatomy of Peace," which has become a kind of bible of American constitutional idealism, declares that the way to "prevent wars between nations once and for all" is to integrate "the scattered conflicting national sovereignties into one unified higher sovereignty capable of creating a legal order in which all peoples will enjoy equal security, equal obligations, and equal rights under the law." The "once and for all" gives one pause, for even our own Constitution could not prevent the Civil War. But a brilliant defender of pure constitutionalism recently explained that difficulty away. The Civil War, he declared, was caused by certain ambiguities in our Constitution which left some doubt whether we were in fact a nation or a loose federation of states. It is now our business to profit from the experience of the past and eliminate similar ambiguities from the world constitution. Unfortunately, to assume that the tortuous processes of history can thus be controlled by the power of constitutional logic is an infantile illusion.

American liberalism refuses to face the fact that there is a tremendous difference between the problem of community on the national and the global level, a difference which no constitutional magic can overcome. National and imperial communities all have ethnic, linguistic, geographic, historical, and other forces of social unity. The universal community, however, has no common language or common culture—nothing to create the consciousness of "we." Modern democratic communities may be culturally and ethnically pluralistic, but they all possess a core of common spiritual possessions which the world community lacks.

The world community does, indeed, have some compelling motives toward unity. Technical civilization has created an economic interdependence which generates insufferable frictions if it is not politically managed. There is in the culture of every nation, moreover, a religious and philosophical sense of world community waiting to be actualized, and of moral obligations extending beyond the national community. There is, finally, the fear of mutual destruction. It is the thesis of the pro-

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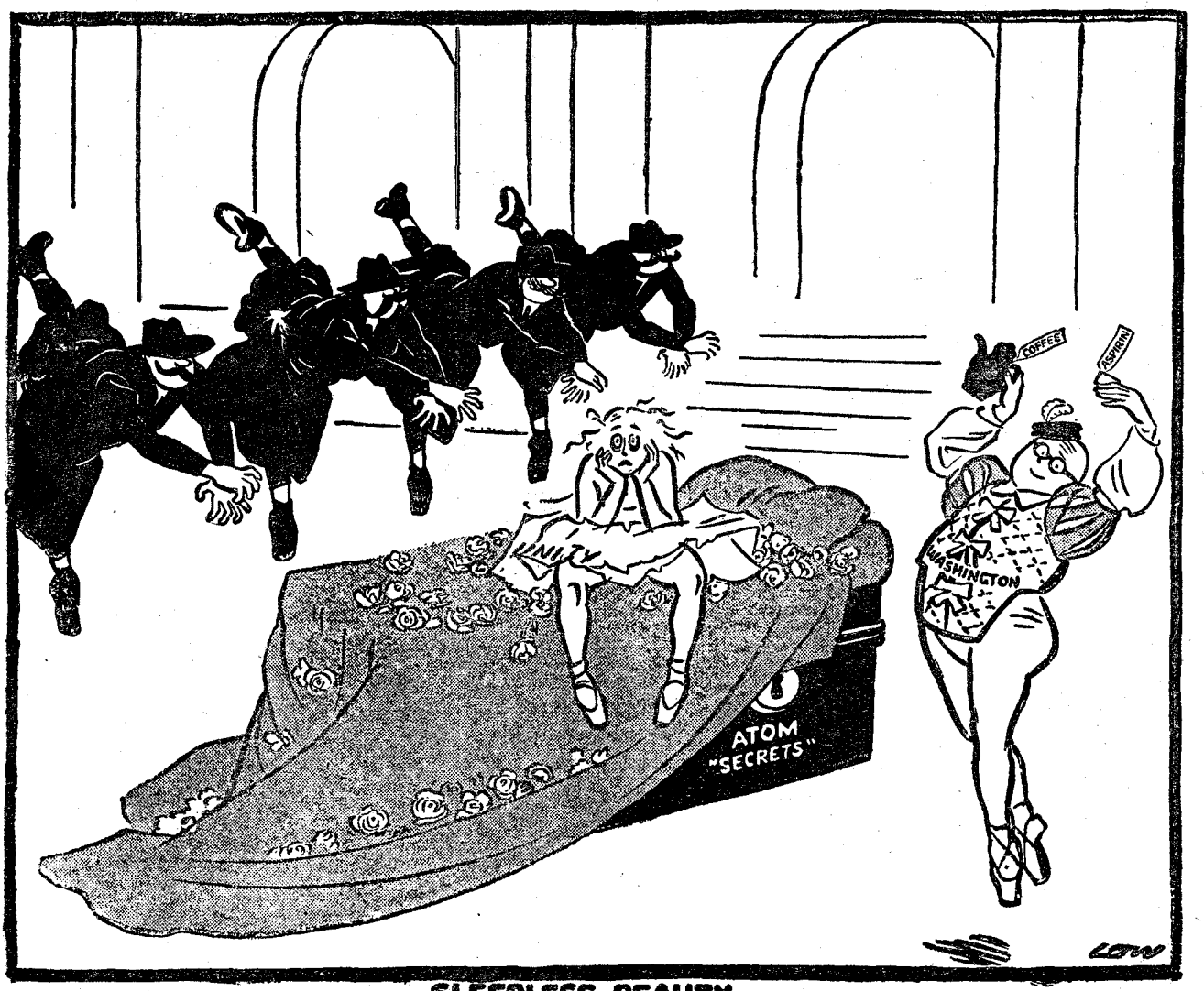
ponents of world government that the atomic bomb has so intensified the fear of mutual destruction that hitherto impossible constitutional goals now appear possible.

Undoubtedly fear may be a creative force. The scared man can run faster from the pursuing bull than he ever thought possible. But the creative power of fear does not increase in proportion to its intensity. Fear finally becomes paralyzing. Furthermore, the fear of mutual destruction easily degenerates into the fear of a particular foe. Even now it must be regretfully recorded that fear of Russia in the West and of the West in Russia seems more potent than the common fear of destruction.

These are tragic facts, and one could wish that they were not true; but it is hardly mature to deny what is so obvious. The world community lacks, in short, the potent elements of "togetherness" which national communities boast. Neither law nor police power can supply this defect. If one trusted to police power alone, the amount required by a universal state to maintain order in a community which did not cohere naturally and organically would be so great as to amount to tyranny. This was Thomas Hobbes's answer to the problem of community; the similarity between his answer and that of many of our modern constitutional idealists is instructive. Fortunately, national communities had a more organic unity than Hobbes supposed. Unfortunately, the international community corresponds at least partly to his picture.

These simple lessons must be spelled out to American idealists, not to induce a mood of defeatism, but to get them to direct the impulses of their idealism to real rather than imaginary objectives. Many creative acts are required of America that are more difficult, though more immediate and modest, than espousal of world government. Will the British loan agreement pass? If it does not, America will have proved that it does not know how to relate its wealth to an impoverished world. Shall we find a way of transferring our dangerous knowledge of the atomic bomb to some kind of world judicatory? If not, we shall have proved that we know how to resent, but not to allay, the world's fear of our power.

These immediate steps toward achieving a higher degree of mutuality among nations may be too modest to guarantee peace. But they are in the right direction. It would be intolerable if we again presented the world with a case of American schizophrenia, allowing our idealists to dream up pure answers for difficult problems while our cynics make our name odious by the irresponsible exercise of our power.



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Japan's Press Revolution

BY ANDREW ROTH

Author of "Dilemma in Japan"

ONE of the most important changes in Japanese life since defeat is hidden in the flimsy, two-page, ideograph-crowded newspapers now being published. In the past few months Japanese journalists have succeeded in converting their newspapers from pillars of the old order into spearheads of the movement for the country's democratic renovation.

The most dramatic story is that of the *Yomiuri-Hochi,* which was the worst of Tokyo's three principal papers, larding rabid militarism with vulgar sensationalism. Its owner, Matsutaro Shoriki, a former police official, had started the paper with the help of a group of aggression-minded industrialists, including Chikuhei Nakajima, the airplane tycoon. Shoriki's yellow journalism, combined with the scandalously low wages he paid his newsmen and printers, brought him rich profits, and his fervent support of aggression won him a seat in the House of Peers and a position as Cabinet adviser.

Soon after the American forces landed and occupation policy became fairly clear, the journalists and pressmen of the *Yomiuri* demanded higher wages, a change in editorial policy, and Shoriki's resignation. When he refused their demands they went on strike, but this was a strike of a peculiar kind—a lockout in reverse. Instead of shutting down the paper, the strikers continued to run it but excluded Shoriki and his top henchmen from the editorial rooms.

Drastic changes in editorial policy were made by the strike leader, Tomin Suzuki. Suzuki had been the paper's foreign editor but had lost his job, partly as a result of German Embassy pressure, when he played up items critical of the Nazis as an indirect means of criticizing Japan's fascists. With Shoriki out of the way, Suzuki went to town. The *Yomiuri* dared to take up the question of the Emperor and thus forced other newspapers to do the same. It initiated discussions of war criminals, insisting that the Japanese must purge themselves. It gave publicity not only to the demands of its own strikers for a living wage but to the needs of other sectors of the slowly emerging labor movement. While hitting hard editorially, the strikers managed to improve the paper's format and type clarity. Public response was tremendous. The *Yomiuri's* circulation outstripped that of all its competitors. It topped 1,500,000 and could have gone farther but for the shortage of paper.

As the strike went into its third month last December, the pressure on the workers—both economic and political—became tremendous. Some of the newsmen began to waver but were shored up by the pressmen and by evidence of wide public support. On December 3 the strikers were given a tremendous boost when Shoriki was named as a war criminal by General MacArthur. A week later a settlement was concluded assuring considerable gains for the strikers. Shoriki agreed to sell all but 30 per cent of his stock, and a liberal, Tsunego Baba, was named president of the *Yomiuri* corporation. The Journalists' Union won recognition, and wage increases were granted. Most interesting of all, it was agreed that the paper should be run by a joint labor-management committee. Strike-leader Suzuki is now editor-in-chief.

While the fight on the *Yomiuri* was going on, the employees of the other two big papers—the *Asahi* and the *Mainichi*—obtained improvements without striking. Top editorial personnel was cleaned out, and the Journalists' Union was allowed to participate in shaping editorial policy. During this period Domei, the monopolistic official news agency, was scrapped, its head was arrested as a war criminal, and in its place two new liberal agencies were formed, *Kyodo* and *Jiji.*

Despite the difficulty of securing newsprint and press facilities many new publications have made their appearance in the past few months, and almost without exception they are leftist in outlook. The Socialists have two excellent organs in the daily *Jiji* (*Times*) and the weekly *Minshu* (*Democracy*); the Communists have the daily tabloid *Minpo* (*People's News*) and the weekly *Akahata* (*Red Flag*). *Akahata* has had a remarkable growth, its circulation reaching 90,000 in December and 250,000 at the end of February. Part of its success is due to its attempt to reach the semi-literate masses. Though Japan boasted of 97 per cent literacy before the war, recent tests have shown that only some 15 per cent of the people can read with ease the 2,500 intricate ideographs used by newspapers, while the great majority are familiar with only 1,000 to 1,500. By substituting phonetic symbols for the complicated ideographs wherever possible, the Communist weekly has been able to tap a huge new audience in the very economic brackets it wishes to influence.

These drastic changes in the press are making a deep impact on the thinking of the Japanese people, particularly in the metropolitan areas, where the papers have their greatest circulation. If the world is surprised by a left-of-center majority in the April elections, it will be because few people know of the press revolution which preceded it.

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EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

Churchill and the British Loan

ON THE very day that Winston Churchill cut loose with his blast against the Soviets and his plea for an Anglo-American alliance, the Senate Banking and Currency Committee opened hearings on the Anglo-American trade and Financial Agreement, which includes provision for a $3¾-billion credit for Britain. It was not a happy coincidence.

This page is not the place to discuss the political implications of Mr. Churchill's address, but I may be permitted to observe that it is likely to weaken rather than buttress British security. For on the one hand it is bound to strengthen the Soviet Union's suspicion that the capitalist world is plotting against it; on the other it has aroused new fears in this country of entanglement in British quarrels and is apt to encourage a demand for the reduction rather than the extension of foreign commitments. Thus reaching for the shadow of an alliance Mr. Churchill may have risked the substance of practical Anglo-American cooperation in the economic sphere, for which the starting-point is the British loan.

Ratification by Congress of the loan agreement is very far from assured. Ernest Bevin's toughness with the Soviets has won him commendations from diehards in America as well as in Britain, and this, together with Churchill's bellicose speech, may have turned a few conservatives votes. But the head and front of the Congressional opposition to the British loan is the group of iso-nationalists. These men, as bitterly Anglophobe as they are Russophobe, view friction between their pet hates with malevolent neutrality. Churchillian eloquence has not the power to win over such enemies, but it may have alienated friends among the Congressional liberals, who as a group are inclined to support the loan but who are susceptible to the argument that it involves underwriting British imperialists.

This argument, I believe, is fallacious. In Britain itself the most ferocious propaganda against the loan, and the trade agreement in which it is wrapped up, is being emitted by Lord Beaverbrook, who, I suspect, understands its implications better than Americans who oppose it on anti-imperialist grounds. Beaverbrook, owner of Britain's most widely circulated newspaper, has for years been plugging the doctrine of imperial self-sufficiency. He was one of the leading advocates of the Ottawa Agreement of 1934, but the scale of preference duties it set up did not satisfy him. He wants to employ a system of discriminatory tariffs which will turn Britain's trade as far as possible into empire channels, and the present plight of his country appears to him a glorious opportunity to accomplish this end. For if Britain is not allowed a breathing spell to rebuild its war-lost trade—and only financial assistance from America can provide that—its one alternative is to fall back on barter methods to obtain the imports which it must have or perish. Thus it will have to confine its purchases of goods as far as possible to those countries which will accept equivalent quantities of British goods or be willing to take payment in inconvertible sterling. Naturally, the empire would form the nucleus of a trading system of this kind, but other countries which depend largely on the British markets would be under pressure to link up with it. That the economic results of imperial autarchy would be as beneficial as Beaverbrook claims may well be doubted; that the political results would be deplorable is certain, for Britain could not afford to loosen the bonds of an empire on which it was dependent for its daily bread.

More than that, a Britain driven to organizing an exclusive economic bloc would soon find itself involved in commercial conflict with the United States, which, as Secretary Vinson pointed out to the Senate committee, would be compelled to form a competing bloc of its own. "Two rival blocs," he added, "would mean economic warfare. Probably we would win, but it would be a Pyrrhic victory. World trade would be destroyed, and all countries would suffer. . . . The consequences to world prosperity and even to world peace would be disastrous."

It was in the hope of avoiding such a situation that the American negotiators of the loan made it conditional on a commercial agreement which commits both Britain and the United States to fighting commercial battles in accordance with what may be called economic Queensberry rules. That is to say, their business men will compete in foreign markets on a price, quality, and service basis. But their government seconds undertake not to give them unfair aid by manipulating tariffs and rates of exchange, or by concluding deals which give better terms to the goods of some nations than to those of others.

If Britain had been offered a loan without being asked to pledge itself to work toward the expansion of world trade on free international lines, there would be some substance in the complaint that Uncle Sam was giving all and receiving nothing. But this commercial agreement promises to be of substantial benefit to the United States, which is likely to become increasingly dependent on foreign trade both to dispose of its surplus production and to secure supplies of raw materials. Neither of these objectives could be easily achieved by barter or bilateral trading methods, for the countries which are America's best customers are not for the most part those from which it wishes to buy. Consequently, in order to trade effectively it must be able to turn the proceeds of a sale to country A into a form of payment acceptable to country B. That in essence is the multilateral system which would have no chance if Britain stood outside it. Yet without the loan Britain could not accept the obligations this system involves.

Congress, then, is faced by a momentous choice: ratification of the loan agreement and cooperation with Britain in rebuilding world trade; non-ratification and an Anglo-American economic conflict. Its vote will determine the future pattern of both the world economy and Anglo-American relations. That is why Mr. Churchill's speech, apart from all other objections, was a prime example of putting the cart before the horse. So long as the United States hesitates about giving Britain the helping hand it so sorely needs, it is not much use discussing long-term political relations.

KEITH HUTCHISON

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The People's Front

Paris, March 7

FRANKLIN ROOSEVELT'S Four Freedoms are undergoing their first real test in a world at peace. And already people are beginning to wonder whether the fourth freedom—freedom from fear—will weather the trial. Here in Paris one has the impression of reliving the days just before Munich. The big question on many lips is, "Can a third world war be averted?" Churchill's speech unleashed all the pent-up hysteria that has been accumulating steadily in the months since liberation. The other day a Frenchwoman told a friend of mine that "next June General Zhukov's army will be in Paris." And this neurotic woman's nonsense about red troops on the Champs Elysées is no isolated phenomenon; many Frenchmen are seriously discussing the possible or probable alignments of the different powers when Russia invades Turkey this spring and Great Britain comes to Turkey's aid.

In the midst of the gloom created by the speech at Fulton, the only encouraging sign for the French has been the report that Churchill's invitation to war had an unfavorable reception in the United States. Last night I went to a dinner given by the president of the French Constituent Assembly, Vincent Auriol, in honor of José Giral, Prime Minister of the Spanish government in exile. Premier Gouin and other Socialist members of the French Cabinet attended the dinner, and all of political Paris met at the reception which followed. During the course of the evening I heard the same remark repeated at least a dozen times: "What a crazy proposal! It's a good thing the Americans gave it a cold shoulder." Even the right-wing Socialists, whose feelings toward Russia are far from warm, promptly repudiated the speech.

The Churchill headlines recalled to mind a discussion I had not long ago with an influential Russian friend. I had found him in a state of mind which made me think of another conversation with Soviet Foreign Minister Chicherin in 1924, when for three hours he expounded the thesis that the leading capitalist powers would not stop until they had forced the world into a war against Russia. Now my friend was expressing exactly the same view. I tried to convince him that his fears were exaggerated. It seemed clear to me that what Russia was doing in the Balkans and elsewhere to extend its zone of influence was dictated not, as many claimed, by the desire to become the most powerful empire on earth, but purely and simply by fear of attack. So the duty of everyone who cared for peace, I told him, was to try to dispel that fear. After reading Churchill, I feel I no longer have any moral justification for speaking as I did.

But it is not only the Soviet Union that distrusts the curious kind of peace we are enjoying. The French position on the Ruhr and the Rhineland is also based on fear. "France could not survive another invasion," a spokesman for the Quai d'Orsay told me last night. "Even if the United States and the whole world came to our aid this time, they could not help. The mere fact of an invasion would finish us." And he added: "We do not want to annex the Ruhr or the Rhineland. We are prepared to accept any solution America and England consider just. But on one condition: that their solution does not leave Germany in a position to attack France again. We cannot forget that the Ruhr has always been the arsenal of the German armies and the Rhineland the springboard from which every invasion of France has been launched."

The Quai d'Orsay spokesman summed up the French attitude in this way: "The important thing is to know the geographic limits of the territory in which the proposed central German administration would be permitted to act. Those limits must be fixed before the peace treaty is signed." In other words, Paris fears that unless the question of the Ruhr and the Rhineland is settled now, the Germans, as time goes by and the Allied occupation bogs down, will gradually extend their control to these two decisive regions. Fear almost turned to panic recently when American G. I.'s in Germany raised the cry, "We want to go home." In the United States none of us quite realized how terrified the French were by those soldier demonstrations.

This view corresponds more nearly to the position of the M. R. P. than to that of the other French parties. The Quai d'Orsay man was quite positive that any inter-Allied committee that may finally be set up in the Ruhr and the Rhineland must be headed by a Frenchman. The Socialists and Communists are not so rigid; following a meeting last Thursday the Communist Party came out again for internationalization of the Ruhr without insisting on any indirect or predominant French control. But in the last analysis every group reflects the same deep-rooted fear that a new, aggressive Germany could use the Ruhr and the Rhineland to prepare its revenge; all insist that the solution of the problem must exclude the possibility of Germany's ever rearming again.

The uneasiness of the French has been aggravated in recent weeks by Allied differences which they believe are encouraging the surviving Nazis inside Germany. Imagine, they say, the excellent use the Nazis will make of Churchill's speech; no matter how strongly the British Foreign Office disowns his views, the Hitler underground will whisper *mit Freude* that President Truman had seen the text of the speech before it was delivered. What better way to encourage the Germans in the belief that sooner or later they will be chosen as companions in arms for the effort to turn the balance of power.

Fear dominates the international scene. At this moment the Spanish Republicans fear that the three-power note suggesting a "neutral" government for Spain may lead to a coup d'état by the generals—who knows, perhaps even with Franco's approval—or to the restoration of the monarchy by the grace of Britain and under the sacred slogan of nonintervention. Freedom from fear has yet to triumph on this earth.

DEL VAYO

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

What They Missed

WHILE YOU WERE GONE: A REPORT ON WARTIME LIFE IN THE UNITED STATES. Edited by Jack Goodman. Simon and Schuster. $3.50.

THE IDEA of "While You Were Gone" is to give returned service men what is apparently now called a "fill-in" on life in the United States during the war. It is a good idea, carried out here with no system or consistency, but at its best with results both entertaining and illuminating. One trouble with the idea, of course, is that some of us were gone four years and some four months; some read pony editions of the American magazines, some read *Stars and Stripes* and *Yank,* some just listened to the radio, some did nothing at all. There is no standard margin of ignorance. Jack Goodman's sensible solution has been to have his contributors write as if they were writing for people who stayed home; and I should think that people who stayed home might well enjoy reading the book.

Twenty-six writers contributed to this report on war-time life. Mr. Goodman gave them pretty free rein, thereby creating a pleasant atmosphere of home-front contention and confirming the impressions we used to get from the pony *Time.* Henry Pringle, for example, estimates advertising's contribution to the winning of the war somewhat less enthusiastically than does Raymond Rubicam. Lester Markel (of the New York *Times)* says that the war showed the newspapers to be the basic source of information, while Eric Hodgins (of *Time)* says that the war finally vindicated the news magazine; this argument ends up with the boys swinging in the footnotes. Lewis Gannett describes the attack on Steinbeck's "The Moon Is Down" as "an echo, in a new form, of the foolishness of 1917"; so Wolcott Gibbs in the next essay reechoes the foolishness, and a little later on Bosley Crowther takes a safe middle course.

The best pieces are very good indeed. Paul Gallico's essay on What We Talked About is a fine, fast, and funny job of writing. Allan Nevins furnishes a sober summary of How We Felt About the War. The three pieces on How We Were Governed are all excellent, with Jonathan Daniels supplying an appealing sketch of Mr. Roosevelt, Tom Stokes a caustic but not unsympathetic account of Congress, and Henry Pringle performing a marvel of condensation on the war agencies. Russell Lord's essay on agriculture is distinguished, though this city slicker wishes he had said something about "Plowman's Folly." James Thurber is himself on What the Animals Were Up To. Milton Caniff brings us up to date on the comics—or, as he suggests they be called, the tragics—and adds a number of penetrating remarks about this important part of our popular culture. Wolcott Gibbs and Lewis Gannett cover their familiar beats with their familiar expertness. The appendix tells How Your Congressman Voted.

Even the bad pieces are not too bad. Though Raymond Rubicam says much that is pompous about advertising, he also sets down a unique collection of the most horrible war-time inspirations of the copy writers. Bosley Crowther is pleasant on the movies, but for my money quite without any real idea what they are all about. Norman Corwin trots out some more of that revolting combination of archness and high-powered "political" emotion which won him a reputation while I was gone which I cannot understand now that I have come back. Senator Ball is pretty routine on post-war plans.

The book has considerably more than the usual share of petty errors. The head of the *Fortune* poll, for example, and the prototype of Flip Corkin, the losing finalist in the 1943 tennis national singles and the husband of Ginger Rogers, all have their names misspelled. George Norris becomes a Progressive, and Arthur Koestler an Austrian. But reference isn't the point of "While You Were Gone." In a curious manner the book calls to mind the inquiries sponsored by Harold Stearns into civilization in the United States. "While You Were Gone" has no theses or pretensions, but it presents the views of a number of humane, intelligent, and well-informed observers concerning the main preoccupations of American life in recent years, and the result is a surprisingly rich and readable commentary on the state of American civilization.

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, JR.

The Exile's Return

There mounts in squalls a sort of rusty mire,
Not ice, not snow, to leaguer the Hotel
De Ville, where braced pig-iron dragons grip
The blizzard to their rigor mortis. A bell
Grumbles when the reverberations strip
The thatching from its spire,
The search-guns click and spit and split up timber
And nick the slate roofs of the Holstenwall
Where torn-up tilestones crown the victor. Fall
And winter, spring and summer guns unlimber
And lumber down the narrow gabled street
Past your gray, sorry, and ancestral house
Where the dynamited walnut tree
Shadows a squat, old, wind-torn gate and cows
The bristling podesta. You will not see
Strutting children or meet
The peg-leg and reproachful counselor
With a forget-me-not in his buttonhole
When the unseasoned liberators roll
Into the Market Square, ground arms before
The Rathaus; but already lily stands
Burgeon the resurrected Rhineland, and a rough
Cathedral lifts its eye. Pleasant enough,
Voi ch'entrate, and your life is in your hands.

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To Peter Taylor on the Feast of the Epiphany

Peter, the war has taught me what you know:
All wars and rumors are designed to show
Not even Armageddon will suffice,
Or turn the hero skating on thin ice,
When Whore and Beast and Dragon rise for air
From allegoric waters. Fear is where
We glitter: where the little minds recall
How wisdom trailed the star into a stall
And knelt in holy terror to confer
Its fabulous gold and frankincense and myrrh:
And where the lantern-noses scrimmage down
The highway to the sea below this town
And the sour barker rigs his baby planes
To lift old Adam's dollars for his pains:—
There on the thawing ice, in red and white
And blue, the bugs are buzzing for the flight.
December's six thin hours have shot their round
Of sorrows with the sun into the sound,
And still the grandsires battle through the slush
To storm the landing pilot with a rush—
Until their cash and somersaulting snare
Fear with its fingered stop-watch in mid-air.

ROBERT LOWELL

Seven Women Poets

MODERN WOMEN POETS OF SPANISH AMERICA. By Sidonia Carmen Rosenbaum. Hispanic Institute. $4.

THE same academic organization which, twenty years ago, first put Gabriela Mistral's poems into book form has now come out with the first serious study in English devoted to modern women poets south of the Rio Grande. In it Miss Mistral appears, not as the central figure, but as one of three successors of a poet less known in the United States, Delmira Agustini of Uruguay, whom the author calls "the first woman who can truly be called a modernist." Those summoned to carry flowers before her are Maria Enriqueta of Mexico (wife of the distinguished historian Carlos Pereyra), Juana Borrero of Cuba, Maria Eugenia Vaz Ferreira of Uruguay. Those who follow in her train, successors if not disciples, are Miss Mistral herself, Alfonsina Storni of Argentina, Juana de Ibarbourou of Uruguay. The latter three may be read in scattered recent translations here.

To those inclined to raise an eyebrow at what may appear a somewhat arbitrary choice of figures, ranged in a hierarchy that stirs immediate questions, it should be explained that Miss Rosenbaum, born in Guatemala of European parents, brought up in the United States, and well known at Columbia University for bibliographical work in the field of Latin American literature, has telescoped two possible books into one—a volume of literary essays and a doctoral thesis devoted to exploring certain technical points. Both books suffer somewhat from the compression. So may the casual reader, but the loot therein is worth the effort. Books in English that give a picture of what it costs to be a woman poet in Latin America are very rare.

Those costs must apparently be assessed in terms of individual suffering rather than of community disapproval. Latin America, like Saxon America, may prefer that women's voices be still, but it is far more generous when they turn out to be the voices of poets than is its northern neighbor. Juana Borrero, the "tormented adolescent" of nineteenth-century Cuba who poured out three volumes of passionate verses before her early death, could hardly have achieved an international reputation had she been born in Cedar Rapids. Maria Eugenia Vaz Ferreira, tragic and difficult sister of a famous Uruguayan philosopher, who refused to let any of her verses be published while she lived, is in that a counterpart of our own Emily Dickinson, but the fame of a repressed and self-frustrated genius was hers from the time her first poems were read to interested friends. That she seems not to have enjoyed it must be blamed on neurosis rather than on lack of recognition or approval. Only Alfonsina Storni, in many ways the most interesting of the seven pictured here, felt the sting of social disapproval, and that was not so much because of her poetry as because of the kind of life she led. A hard-driven journalist and teacher, with an illegitimate child to support, she made her friends where she could find them, and her ways are said to have been as free as her speech.

Whether they are precursors or followers of the modernist tide which Ruben Dario initiated and which did so much to sweep away the rubbish of a dead romanticism from Spanish poetry, it must be admitted that there is still plenty of romantic illusion about these women. They find little satisfaction in reality. Life is sterile, men are stupid, aspiration outruns achievement, desire for escape haunts their dreams—escape into a better world, into the arms of a lover who is the composite ideal of a dozen fictional heroes. Of the seven, Gabriela Mistral and Juana de Ibarbourou have the keenest sensory appreciation of nature, and the latter, who was brought up in the wild country of northern Uruguay, is enchantingly aware of sight and sound and smell and taste. Miss Rosenbaum makes much of her "chaste impudicity" and of the freedom of erotic expression which marks her poetry as well as that of Miss Storni, but there is little shock left in it in 1946, and no reason to give it a mystic connotation which seems, from the northern point of view, as unnecessary as it is unwarranted.

It is the author's thesis that her seven chosen poets mark the emergence in Spanish American letters of a group of women too numerous to be considered exceptional. "This flowering of feminine literature in Hispano-American coincides with the triumph of feminism everywhere," but the literature is by no means feminist in character, nor has it any political connotation. What came forth, when the South American thus found her voice, was the primitive woman hitherto hidden behind the early nineteenth-century wrappings of church prudery and romantic drapery. That woman yearned to be loved, burned to be loved, screamed to be loved, but the love she demanded seemed to have little connection with what she could get from the men about her. Delmira Agustini fled back to her mother's arms after two months of marriage to a handsome horse trader, escaping from "vulgarity." Less than a year later they were found dead together—a highly colored public scandal bearing little

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resemblance to the ideal love which formed the theme of Delmira's poems.

That this was tragic for Delmira no one doubts, but was it evidence of the feminist drive? It would be interesting to explore farther the manifestations of that drive, and the reasons why feminism—if feminism it was—took this particular form in South America whereas it found its way into political channels here. Certainly the fact that women now feel free to speak where they had previously remained silent marks a change. Certainly the criticism of South American men implied in their defining of the kind of love they want, and presumably do not get, indicates a sense of what they consider women's rights in one important field. That it happens to be a field in which, since the end of the romantic era, few North American women poets have shown signs of being balked makes one wonder if there is not a confusion here between feminism and a delayed romanticism masked in the trappings of modernism.

This book is an interesting beginning. One hopes it will be followed by comparative studies of pairs of Northern and Southern poets which will bring the latter into clearer focus and set them in proper proportion within our frames of reference. Behind the somewhat stilted form and academic phraseology to which Miss Rosenbaum has subjected her material are incandescent spirits and a depth of poetic devotion which must be completely grasped if we are to continue to explore Latin American culture with any real benefit to ourselves or them. It is a marker of the distance we have already come along that road that a bilingual study like this, written in English about material in Spanish which is not translated, should be sent to *The Nation* in the expectation of finding sufficient public so that it would be reviewed.

MILDRED ADAMS

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BRIEFER COMMENT

Shakespeare as Historian

THE ROMANTIC CRITIC of Shakespeare concerned himself especially with the uniqueness of his subject, whom he tended to regard as a pure genius and therefore outside time or social setting. A little later scholars sought for light by studying playwrights contemporary with him and also the theatrical practices of his epoch. Today it is the general intellectual background of Shakespeare's age which is being most elaborately investigated, and Professor E. M. W. Tillyard's "Shakespeare's History Plays" (Macmillan, $3) is an ambitious contribution to the work being done in this field. Arguing that the author of the so-called chronicle plays was familiar with the leading ideas of his time even though he was not, technically, a learned man, Professor Tillyard surveys the orthodox Elizabethan conception of the meaning of history and concludes that Shakespeare almost inevitably accepted the usual view—namely, that history is an account of the deviations from and returns to that right social order which is not arbitrary or man-made but established by nature. He rejects the contention that the historical plays are to be regarded as mere preliminary attempts to develop Shakespearean tragedy. Instead, he divides them into three groups, with the second, which includes "Richard II" and the two parts of "Henry IV," representing the achievement of a form that is "entirely successful and presents not even a parallel to the form of tragedy." "Henry V," on the other hand, begins a development which leads to a concern with the tragedy of the individual rather than with the health or sickness of society. Professor Tillyard's book is hardly for the casual reader, but it is certain to be widely discussed by students of Shakespeare.

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Loving Pen in Hand

EXPERIENCE SUGGESTS that the one course of true love which runs smooth is the correspondence course. When two people, partly yielding to circumstance or principle, choose to give vent to their mutual love solely through letters, the world usually gains a happy-ending story, and sometimes a batch of missives worth rereading. The widowed Jefferson, American minister in Paris in the late 1780's, and Maria Cosway, the pretty and accomplished wife of an English hack painter of repute, lived and wrote out such a story, now for the first time in print ("My Head and My Heart," Putnam's, $3) under the editorship of Helen Duprey Bullock.

The small volume is good reading for fanciers of the eighteenth century, with its many amiable celebrities and its faded yet ingenious rhetoric of sentiment: notice how Jefferson works in *je t'aime* in a passage of the most formal and unadulterous effusiveness. His letters generally are

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shorter than Mrs. Cosway's, he being the busier and the more spied upon, but they continue warm and faithful through forty years of private and public achievement. Hers lose nothing in affection either, but they depict, through one distressing detail after another, a life denied to love and filled with minor good works and a few songs. For Maria Cosway was something of a composer, and the introducer of the present volume, Carleton Smith, promises us the scores when Europe is once again accessible to the inoffensive.

Judging from the number of persons engaged in similar tasks, editing Jefferson has become a popular pastime. But on the basis of this latest effort, I should like to point out one constant difficulty constantly overlooked: Jefferson had a habit of spelling by ear, especially foreign words. When he writes "conveiance" in English, no editor thinks of adopting the spelling for his own editorial matter. It follows that when Jefferson goes astray on French or other place names, persons, or local expressions, the editor *must look them up*. That is what he is paid for, in glory or in cash. Mrs. Bullock follows a wretched tradition in taking her hero as orthographer, for what is merely eccentric in him becomes misleading in her and irritating at last to the alert reader.

JACQUES BARZUN

The Navy's Story

GILBERT CANT, author of "The Great Pacific Victory" (John Day, $3.50), is a contributing editor of *Time*, and has written other books on the war in the Pacific. This volume takes up the story with the conclusion of the Guadalcanal campaign in February, 1943, and carries it through to the end of the war and the Japanese surrender. It is not a critical analysis of the operations but a narrative history of the last two and a half years of the war, told clearly and concisely, and as such it can be recommended without qualification.

Although the army's campaigns are sketched in, this is primarily the navy's story. MacArthur and the Southwest Pacific command receive secondary attention: it is plain that the author regards Nimitz as the outstanding figure of the Pacific war. The Commander-in-Chief, Pacific Ocean Areas —sixty-four million square miles of water with infrequent islands to vary the monotony—is pictured here as a modest, unpretentious man who did not, to begin with, wish to accept the Pacific command after Pearl Harbor. Nimitz "had come to the conclusion that diplomatic, political, and other considerations being what they were, he might have had the fleet sunk under him just as had Kimmel." He therefore suggested that Vice-Admiral Pye—one of Kimmel's subordinates—be appointed to succeed Kimmel after the Pearl Harbor disaster. But Knox would not have it, and Nimitz went out to take over. Nevertheless, it is clear that the new Commander-in-Chief did not consider Kimmel and Short culpable, and Nimitz continued to use Kimmel's Pearl Harbor staff, indifferent to the pointed criticism which this policy aroused.

Occasionally the reader encounters statements about which some questions might be raised. For example: "Most of the admirals exercising important commands had had more ex-

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ON February 26 a Memorandum on Spain was submitted to the President signed by Freda Kirchwey, president, The Nation Associates; Raymond Swing, chairman of the board, Americans United for World Organization; Reinhold Niebuhr, president of the Union for Democratic Action; Frank P. Graham, chairman of the Advisory Council, The Nation Associates; William L. Shirer, chairman of The Friends of the Spanish Republic; Philip Murray, president of the Congress of Industrial Organizations; Jo Davidson, chairman of the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions; Henry A. Atkinson, secretary of The Church Peace Union; Elmer Benson, chairman of the Executive Committee, National Citizens' Political Action Committee.

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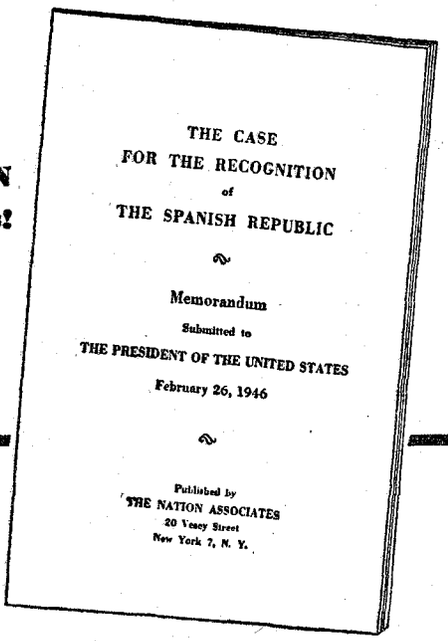

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perience than their equivalents in the army ground forces or air forces. Their record is better in about the same proportion as their experience!" It must be remembered that while the war of 1917-18 was a major test for the army, it provided little in the way of combat for the navy, which had not been seriously engaged since 1898. Indeed, it is much to the credit of the admirals that they were able to achieve so notable a record in spite of their almost complete lack of previous battle experience. Again, it may be supposed that many critics will be unable to agree with the author's complacent verdict on Okinawa.

The book as a whole, however, seems certain to find general acceptance and approval. And few will quarrel with the author's concluding paragraph: "Whether or not the organization of the United Nations succeeds in preventing further outbreaks of hostilities, it is virtually certain that there can never be another war fought along the same lines as that which swept across the Pacific."

HARVEY S. FORD

Literature and the Good Earth

IT SAYS ON THE JACKET of "God Made the Country," by Edward Townsend Booth (Knopf, $2.50), that "lives of great writers from Hesiod to Tolstoy prove that literature, like life itself, is rooted in the soil of the good earth." The author makes no such claim, nor does his book prove anything of the sort. What Mr. Booth's essays do illustrate is that some writers have sometimes enjoyed the country very much, and written productively there. Moreover, if the individuals cited are fair samples—it is a little startling to think of Mme de Sévigné, Lady Montagu, Pope, Voltaire, and Walpole as farmers, or even rusticators—their enjoyment of the country seems in direct relation to the amount of money and fame they took with them, to the possibility of congenial visitors, and to the number of hired hands they could find to do most of their work. Even the relatively poor—Cowper, Wordsworth, Carlyle, Hawthorne—managed, it seems, to have some woman to wait on them hand and foot. Mr. Booth is well read; he is in favor of old-fashioned virtue and against false urban sophistication; he sincerely likes the country; and he writes a rather heavygoing prose.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Pamphleteer

LEO HUBERMAN is in my opinion the best pamphleteer in America. I know of no one who has a greater capacity for the clear and graphic explanation of complex economic and social issues. His latest, "The Truth About Unions" (Pamphlet Press, Reynal and Hitchcock, $1), will not disappoint those who remember "Man's Worldly Goods." "The Truth About Unions" is an unpretentious exposition of the basic facts about trade unionism, simple enough for anyone to

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understand and comprehensive enough to be useful even to those who think they already know enough about the subject. It is to Huberman's credit that he does not duck the hard ones. His chapters on jurisdictional disputes, feather-bedding, and racketeering say the unpleasant things that must be said in any honest complete view of the labor movement.

I. F. STONE

Ocean to Ocean

EARLY IN 1778 Captain Cook's Resolution dropped anchor in Nootka Sound. John Ledyard was the only American in the crew. Here this Connecticut Yankee, scion of seafaring stock, had the vision of a nation which would extend from ocean to ocean. It was a vision which led him to friendship with Jefferson, Robert Morris, and John Paul Jones, across oceans and continents, and to an early and unmarked grave in Egypt. Helen Augur has told the story of John Ledyard in "Passage to Glory" (Doubleday, $3). Based on scholarly research, written with imagination and sympathy, this is an interesting and rewarding book about a too little-known American.

RALPH ADAMS BROWN

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

THE only new plays to reach Broadway during the two weeks just past were two ambitious failures. Robert Ardrey's "Jeb," another melodrama about the return of a Negro veteran to the South, closed after a few performances; Maxwell Anderson's "Truckline Cafe" is scheduled to withdraw before this piece can get into print. "Jeb" died quietly, but "Truckline Cafe" has been made the occasion of a minor hullabaloo. First the producers and then Mr. Anderson himself bought space in some of the daily papers for an attack upon the critics, who were accused of frivolity as well as incompetence and compared, in a general way, with the members of the Jukes family. I do not usually review defunct productions unless they seem to me of very unusual importance, and though I was certainly not bored by "Truckline Cafe," I do not think either it or "Jeb" an outstandingly good play. Nevertheless, since a controversy has been started, I should like to say a few words both about current criticism and about Anderson's latest drama.

The charge that most of the critics now practicing have standards and tastes markedly at variance with those of the general public and that this public is therefore unable to learn from the reviews whether or not it would be likely to enjoy a given production seems to me difficult to reconcile in that sweeping form with the further charge that these same critics can, nevertheless, kill a play. If the public stays away when the critics turn thumbs down, that probably means that the public has learned that it does not usually enjoy what the daily papers have unanimously or almost unanimously condemned. Indeed, I should be inclined to argue that the real weakness of current journalistic criticism of the drama lies in the fact that it is so little more than a reflection of the current fashions in thought and taste and opinion. Ideally a critic should at least influence the judgments of his reader, and very little current dramatic criticism makes any real attempt to exercise that sort of influence. Your critic today is too little more than merely a man who shares the taste of his public and therefore can tell it what it will or will not like.

There are, nevertheless, two kinds of plays in connection with which the generalization just made seems to me to break down. I have gathered no statistics, but I think it safe to say that certain critics working on the important dailies may be trusted to put in at least a few qualifying good words for any play which in obvious journalistic fashion treats of some social or political question. That they always actually like every such play I am not sure, but a somewhat befuddled conscience compells them to praise it, or at least its "intentions," and they there part company with a public which rather resents being preached at unless the preacher is a really good one. On the other hand, the newspaper critics seem to me to be almost without exception less predisposed than audiences to look with favor upon plays which are essentially serious in subject matter and in general treatment but which either are non-political and non-economic or approach political and economic questions by indirect or oblique routes. Most of Mr. Anderson's serious plays belong in this latter class. He is essentially serious, but only once, in "Gods of the Lightning," did he attempt the method of didactic journalism. His latest play is rather simpler than most, and it is direct in its approach to a rather sensational aspect of the soldier's return. But its theme is moral rather than political, and that probably explains why, though "Jeb" got mixed notices, "Truckline Cafe" was set upon with extraordinary violence.

The scene is a chili cafe attached to a group of tourist cabins near a California beach. Briefly, the story is concerned with three young women who have been long separated from their husbands. One of them has been absorbed in the care of a child now three years old; one has had a casual love affair during her husband's absence; the third, now working as a waitress, had run away when her supposedly dead mate turned up. When he finds her she tells him that, thinking him dead, she too took up with another man and that any possible resumption of marriage would be a failure. But when the husband of the loosest of the three shoots her and then wishes he hadn't, the heroine comes to agree with her husband's thesis: we cannot expect life after the upheaval of a war to be what it was before, but we should go on as best we may with what is left of marriage as well as with what is left of everything else—many men have died to give us the opportunity to do just that.

Now this, though probably a sensible conclusion, is not an especially original one. Mr. Anderson has chosen to tell the story somewhat more straightforwardly than he usually tells his stories and has left it relatively bare of the comments which he usually inserts. Only two moments—one when the child talks over the phone to his father in Hawaii, the other when the murderer asks the waitress to give him a cup of coffee before she notifies the police—are as tense as they might be. Even the attempt to make the atmosphere of the cafe seem real on the level of literal fact is not always successful. And yet, for all that, I found myself nearly always interested, and I see no justification whatsoever for treating the play as though it were merely incompetent and contemptible. I saw it after the protests of Mr. Anderson and his producers had already been published, and it may be that the audience which saw the play with me was a special one. But for the record I should add that this audience gave a hearty curtain call.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

WITH Toscanini's performance of Beethoven's "Pastoral" Symphony in Victor's catalogue you would think there was no need of a performance by Stokowski; but you would be concerned with Beethoven's symphony, whereas Victor is concerned with the sales of Stokowski recordings. Victor would undoubtedly tell you these recordings make possible the recordings which do not sell that many copies; and you could then ask where *were* the recordings for whose sake Victor claimed to record Stokowski's performances and worse—where, specifically, were the new recordings by Schnabel of sonatas by Beethoven and Schubert, concertos by Mozart? As a matter of fact Victor is not only issuing Rubinstein recordings of Beethoven but withdrawing Schnabel's recording of the C minor Concerto, so that if you don't want the Rubinstein or the Iturbi performance of that work you will either have to pay a prohibitive price for an imported copy of the Schnabel (if you can get it), or do without.

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Stokowski uses the New York City Symphony (Set 1032; $5.50), which plays and sounds very well. Listening to the first movement I was agreeably surprised by Stokowski's simple treatment of it, which continued all the way to the coda, where there were the first erratic inflections and changes of pace. I was, therefore, not surprised at all by the perversely slow tempo and sentimental phrasing of the second movement; the slow beginning and sudden acceleration of the fourth movement; the sentimental slowing down of the end of the last movement. It might be worse; but it is bad enough. The performance is well-recorded.

If there are Stokowskiisms, there are also Koussevitzkyisms; and one of them occurs near the end of a Boston Symphony performance of Berlioz's "Roman Carnival" Overture (11-9008; $1), where Berlioz's effect is a decrescendo and crescendo without any loss of momentum, but where Koussevitzky slows down the decrescendo to a slow and gradually accelerating tempo for the crescendo. Up to that point the performance is excellent, and the playing of the orchestra a delight to the ear—which is to say that its beautiful sound is well-reproduced, though with some blurring reverberation in loud passages.

I have listened several times to the single (10-9010; $.75) with Haydn's "My Mother Bids Me Bind My Hair" and "She Never Told Her Love," sung by Marian Anderson with Franz Rupp at the piano, but haven't been able to get much pleasure from it. Anderson's singing is uneven, with tones that are produced with freedom and are very beautiful followed by others that are tight and metallic and that even, occasionally, sag in pitch. No replacement has arrived for the cracked single (11-9009; $1) with Brailovsky's performance of Chopin's Nocturne Opus 15 No. 2; nor have I received a copy of the newly issued shellac pressing (Set 1029; $2.50) of the Koussevitzky-Boston Symphony recording of Strauss's "Till Eulenspiegel," so that I haven't been able to hear what differences there are between the sound of the recording from shellac records and its sound from plastic records. And the set (1031; $5.75) of the first volume of Debussy's Preludes performed by E. Robert Schmitz I will discuss later.

Columbia, with Beecham's and Weingartner's performances of Beethoven's Symphony No. 2 in its catalogue, has issued another by Reiner with the Pittsburgh Symphony (Set 597; $4.50). It is very good, and would be even better without Reiner's tendency to intensified dynamics—to explosive crescendos and sforzatos, and sudden drops from *ff to pp* where Beethoven asks for a drop to *p* with a decrescendo to *pp*. It is recorded with admirable spaciousness, distinctness, and brightness.

Bizet's Symphony, which Rodzinski has recorded with the New York Philharmonic-Symphony (Set 596; $4.50) is a work that he composed at the age of seventeen. It has some engaging melodies, is neatly put together, and is pleasant to listen to. The lighter portions are well-performed; but a melodic passage for violins in the second movement is played with inflated tone and expressiveness that are unsuited to this music, and other passages stagger under the over-muscular treatment they get. The recorded sound on some sides is clear, bright, and agreeable; on others it is unpleasantly sharp; on the fifth it is suddenly deafening.

The performance of the Polovtsian Dances from Borodin's "Prince Igor" by Ormandy with the Philadelphia Orchestra (12269-D; $1) seems good, but comes off the record with its sound dull and indistinct.

Books in Short

"Steelways of New England," by Alvin F. Harlow, Creative Age Press, $3.50, is the first volume of a sixteen-volume series on the Railroads of America planned by the Creative Age Press. This highly readable book presents a summary of railroad beginnings, the story of New England railroads and railroad wars, and a brief account of many Yankee railroaders who played leading roles in other sections. Though not well organized, it contains a wealth of interesting incidents and personalities, much valuable social and economic history, and excellent photographs.

"International Cartels," by Ervin Hexner, University of North Carolina Press, $6. Should international cartels be prohibited or socialized or subjected to controls through governmental agreements? Professor Hexner, who combines immense academic knowledge of the subject with practical experience of cartel operations, does not attempt to answer this question. Instead, believing that information should precede policy, he provides a broad survey of private international marketing arrangements as they developed in the inter-war period. More than a hundred case studies, together with the complete texts of a number of cartel agreements, make this an invaluable sourcebook.

"Meet Your Ancestors," by Roy Chapman Andrews, Viking, $3. Dr. Andrews's invitation is addressed primarily to young men and women in the hope of stimulating some of them to seek adventure in hunting for the bones of primitive man. He succeeds in conveying the thrills of anthropological field work while providing a useful, up-to-date summary of our knowledge of our human and subhuman ancestors. The record is still full of gaps which, until more material can be unearthed, must be flimsily bridged with hypothesis. For young scientists with patience, luck, and daring there are vast opportunities waiting.

CONTRIBUTORS

ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER, Jr., a veteran of the war, is the author of "The Age of Jackson."

ROBERT LOWELL is the author of a book of poems entitled "Land of Unlikeness."

MILDRED ADAMS has been for many years a student of Spanish and Hispano-American literature.

JACQUES BARZUN, associate professor of history at Columbia University, is the author of "Teacher in America" and other books.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES is the author of several books of verse.

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Letters to the Editors

Amnesty for C. O.'s

Dear Sirs: In December the American Civil Liberties Union released a statement which reported that more than sixty prominent citizens, all of them nonpacifists, had petitioned President Truman for a Christmas amnesty for conscientious objectors. There were still several thousand conscientious objectors, including Jehovah's Witnesses, Hopi Indians, and Puerto Rican War objectors, in federal institutions. So far the petition has not been granted. Full amnesty, including restoration of civil rights, is essential because without that, conscientious objectors, being legally felons, will find it extremely difficult or impossible to get civil-service jobs or to qualify for medicine, dentistry, or law.

A Committee for Amnesty (for all objectors to war and conscription) has now been formed. It includes persons identified with a great variety of organizations, including the Federal Council of Churches, the American Civil Liberties Union, the Prison Committee of the New York Yearly Meeting of Friends, the National Service Board for Religious Objectors, the Socialist Party, and various pacifist organizations and groups.

The committee, of which Evan W. Thomas, M. D., is treasurer, is appealing to the public for $5,000 to launch a nation-wide campaign. This is a small sum. We are confident that many will wish to make an immediate contribution. Remittances may be made payable to Committee for Amnesty, Room 1029, 5 Beekman Street, New York 7, New York.

A. J. MUSTE,
Temporary Chairman

New York, January 14

Mr. Powell Objects

Dear Sirs: I have before me a clipping of a book review by one E. Franklin Frazier on my recent publication "Marching Blacks."

I cannot in any way object to those critics who do not like the book, or me. That is the prerogative of a critic. I do, however, want to point out one thing in Mr. Frazier's review that is not in keeping with *The Nation's* policy. I quote, "In championing the cause of the black masses against the talented tenth of lighter complexion, the Reverend Mr. Powell indulges in much rabble-rousing, claiming that he is a descendant of the black field Negroes."

First, Mr. Frazier's untruthful assumption that the talented tenth were of lighter complexion is not only dangerous but proves the very point of the book. Second, saying that I indulge in much rabble-rousing is another untruth because all of the section dealing with light-versus-dark and house-versus-field Negroes comes almost word for word from Dr. Buell Gallagher's treatise on The American College on American Caste. Dr. Gallagher, as you know, is white and a former president of Talladega College in Alabama.

The third untruth is that I claim to be a descendant of black field Negroes. This I never stated. I am the son of a former share-cropper and the grandson of a branded slave.

In these three misstatements your reviewer proves the point that I was making: that too many Negroes of the reviewer's type—lighter-skinned, privileged, educated—use their supposed qualifications to divide and hold back the Negro man.

ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, JR.

Washington, D. C., February 23

Mr. Frazier's Rebuttal

Dear Sirs: In my brief review of Mr. Powell's "Marching Blacks," a book which contains many errors and unwarranted generalizations, I attempted to be generous. Since, however, the author charges me with untruthful statements, it will be necessary to document some of the defects of the book.

Despite much ambiguity in his statements, one point of his book is that Negroes were formerly divided on the basis of caste. The "upper caste included some one million free Negroes, slaves and mulattoes. The alliance of the light-skinned Negro with the house Negro was one of the most disastrous forces retarding the progress of the race" (p. 13). Mr. Powell also states, "My folks were field Negroes for countless generations. That's why I belong to the masses. I am proud to consider myself a new Negro—a marching black" (p. 15). In Chapter 5, The People's Man, he tells how Harlem Negroes were divided on the basis of color until he came along and united them. All this is reminiscent of Garvey, who tried to draw a line between the lighter and darker Negroes.

In my reference to the talented tenth I merely used Du Bois's term, and in describing them as of lighter complexion I was simply stating a well-known fact. Every study that has been made of the American Negro has revealed that the majority of professional men and intellectual leaders were of mixed blood. This is not due to any innate inferiority in blacks or to an "alliance" against the darker masses. It represents a social process which is observable in Brazil and other countries.

Mr. Powell fails to explain why he said (p. 39), "The leader of this group, Thomas Jesse Jones, was the first Negro to emerge in this century as an educated, subsidized Uncle Tom." Dr. Jones as everyone knows is a white man. This is typical of the errors upon which Mr. Powell bases his interpretative history of the rise of the black common man. Finally, he proves my charge of rabble-rousing when he, indistinguishable from white, points to me, a decided Negro type, as an example of the light-skinned Negroes who are dividing and holding back the Negro man.

E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER

Washington, D. C., February 28

Longo's Defense

Dear Sirs: Only the unselfish motive in this request and the urgency of its nature overcomes the embarrassment that I would otherwise feel in asking you for aid once more.

Our defense committee is in need of additional funds for expert examinations of Longo's voting records, for court stenographic work, and for witnesses which will be necessary for his coming trial on March 4 in Jersey City. Even at this moment the Hague forces . . . are desperately striving to prevent a trial and were before the State Supreme Court today not as prosecutors or "interested parties" in the litigation but rather as "citizens" and, of all things, "in the interest of justice." Should the Supreme Court uphold the ruling of Judge Ziegener in granting a new trial, that will mean more hearings, more delay, and continued expenses.

In any event, we must have money. Our bills for work prior to this time are all but paid. And bear in mind that not a cent has gone to any individual.

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As a matter of fact, Raymond Chasan voluntarily gave his valuable services, and money besides! Your readers were exceptionally responsive once before and might welcome another opportunity to help. Those who have not already contributed may be willing to this time. The appeal now is not for a "lost cause," as "protest"; money spent now can actually give one man his freedom and for the first time in our state drive a blow at a corrupt system that has weakened the foundation of democracy —the true administration of justice.

GEORGE G. HOLLINGSHEAD
Treasurer, Longo Defense Committee
Jersey City, N. J. February 14

To Put It Briefly

Dear Sirs: This should be a statement of the times: The trouble with private industry is, it's too damned private.

ELI SIEGEL

New York, March 5

Pepsi-Cola vs. Salon

Dear Sirs: I have a slight suspicion that your Clement Greenberg is a bit of a snob. His resentment against the Associated American Artists is typical of the academic and darned near esoteric attitude that many art critics demonstrate when it seems that art is getting nearer to the people and farther away from the upper brackets and salons.

I have no interest in the business success of the Associated American Artists, but I think thousands of people like myself would not have had the pleasant contact with art if this project had not made a great deal of it available in mass-production form.

I don't see why the million of Pepsi-Cola drinkers should not also be patrons of the Pepsi-Cola art exhibit which Mr. Greenberg finds slightly on the Kitsch side. Is there any reason why talented artists cannot develop properly merely because they pick up a few extra bucks through the Associated American Artists and Lucky Strike cigarettes, who were smart enough to buy a series of paintings from Associated for an advertising campaign.

I don't think we'll ever have any improvement in the public's taste for art as long as critics like Mr. Greenberg advocate a new cultural élite "to counterbalance the pressure of the new mass market." Everytime I go to a stuffy museum to look at a painting I realize it's snobs like Clement Greenberg who are responsible for taking art farther away from the people and bringing words like "Kitsch" nearer to the phonies who have the dough to buy the kind of paintings that are beyond both the comprehension and the pocketbooks of the masses.

One more word: Benton and Grant Wood were popularized by the Associated American Artists. That's enough to justify Associated American Artists.

TONI GALE

New York, February 25

Cultivation, Not Concession

Dear Sirs: It is one of the tragedies of our time that solicitude for any of the arts forces one to be a snob. The mass public of industrial countries, wittingly or unwittingly, asks for such concessions to the limitations of its taste as cannot but debase the arts. The real trouble lies deeper, of course—in the causes of these limitations rather than in the limitations themselves. The fact is that most people in our society lack the security, leisure, and comfort indispensable to the cultivation of taste; and only a socialist society can provide security, leisure, and comfort.

Whether the Associated American Artists justified itself by popularizing Benton and Wood is a question I cannot decide. What I do know is that Benton is and Wood was among the notable vulgarizers of our period: they offered us an inferior product under the guise of high art.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

New York, February 28

A Bad State of Affairs

Dear Sirs: A few days ago I remarked that we should get some nice Americans over here to counteract the anti-American feeling which is now so apparent in England. The answer was, "Are there any nice Americans?" That is a very bad state of affairs, and I think we ought to face up to it, and try to see, without prejudice, what has caused it.

We all know about the misunderstandings that arise when two peoples, speaking more or less the same language, do not observe the same behavior patterns. But what is happening now is special. I want to try and explain our side, not to say it is right, but simply in order that the bad situation may have a chance of healing.

I have talked with a number of people who would by any standards be considered intelligent and progressive. Many of them, like myself, find themselves in the grip of anti-American feeling which they know is irrational and therefore wrong, but which none the less tends to influence their actions. It is partly due, of course, to the continued presence of an American army. No armies ever behave as well as would their constituent members acting as individuals. The American army was no worse than other armies; probably it was better than some. The difficulty was that there was more of it, and it certainly attracted some of the silliest and worst of our own population who had taken Hollywood films at their face value. I think the Poles were fully as unpopular, but I doubt whether the Norwegians or Czechs ever were. However, there were many fewer of them! Apart from the obvious bad feeling caused by higher pay in a country where shortages have sent up the prices of minor unrationed luxuries, country people and British soldiers living near the camps have been very much upset by the waste of what is, to us, precious food in the American camps.

But that is not the immediate cause of the sharp fall in friendliness toward the United States. It started, I suppose, with lend-lease. It was not that we were unprepared for the end of lend-lease, or indeed that any of us supposed that it ought to go on, but the manner of ending was rather a shock, and followed too closely on the coming of the Labor government for us not to be suspicious that there was some connection between the two events. The real thing, however, was Bretton Woods. I wonder whether you realize in America that we have a particular historical reason for our unwillingness to be tied to the gold standard. All of us in the Labor movement remember only too clearly the summer of 1931 when the crash came. Ramsay MacDonald betrayed his own people for the sake of sticking to the American gold standard, and split the Labor movement so deeply that the Tories were in for eight years, and the last hope of peace for Europe vanished. All that left a scar on us, and we felt that the latest proposals were a preparation for the same thing happening again. I know you had the same slump, but it did not involve betrayal by a trusted leader and the ending of very bright hopes.

Intellectually I admitted, after talking the thing over, that the proposals were really very reasonable, and yet I felt sore about them. Our dollars were apparently going to buy tobacco, films, and wheat. I don't smoke; I grow oats;

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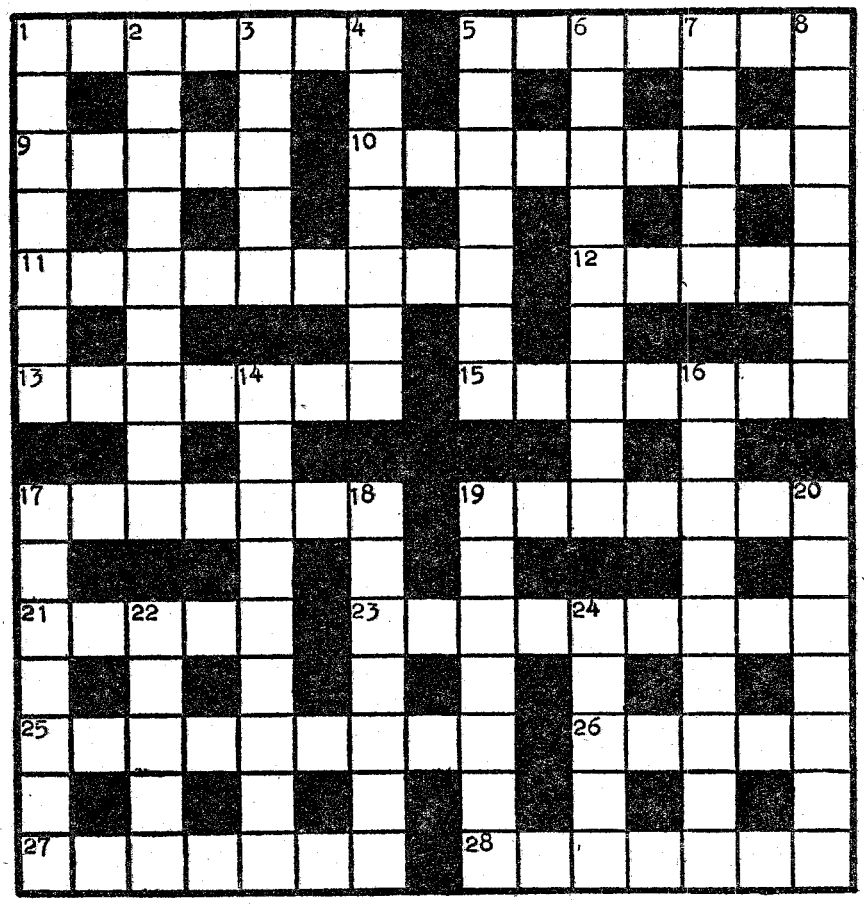
Crossword Puzzle No. 152

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Bird which makes pin lace
5 Old weapon with which you might fell a tree without getting too close to it (hyphen, 4-3)
9 A rich piece of furniture
10 Never-mind-Who suggested that we should hate them, but love their wives
11 A frock coat is not part of it (two words, 5 & 4)
12 "A -----, hollow-eyed, sharp-looking wretch"
13 Rehearse (hyphen, 2-5)
15 Tigers, zebras and sergeant-majors are
17 Composed
19 Has been defined as "one who redoubles his efforts after he has lost sight of his objectives"
21 Easy to make this horse caper
23 Captured Italian island that equipped America with lamps
25 Where the vast anger of the Norwegians is in evidence
26 Anagram of 22
27 Improved
28 He started out by being a beastly king

DOWN

1 This bullfighter is a bounder at heart
2 Terms for the provisions of "the tools" (hyphen, 5-4)
3 Division of an army made up of other divisions
4 It is not in us to give judgment against plaintiff
5 Where do those who never change their attitude stand today?
6 The Knight of the Swan
7 Pin it on a girl
8 Sad eyes (anag.)
14 You may get a fat reward for this later
16 It was no mouse he tamed
17 Devil and donkey start it, but don't get on together
18 Snowed under?
19 This artery is in your thigh
20 Arranged methodically, with a dolt in the center
22 Not a sedentary pursuit; except for the metal-worker
24 Do get her a tonic, Henry (hidden)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 151

ACROSS:—1 REMADE; 5 DISCUS; 9 ALIGNED; 11 BARKIS; 12 ALBINO; 13 SEA MILE; 14 NOOK; 17 WINK; 19 SURE THING; 22 VICES; 23 EDILE; 25 FURORE; 26 EARWIG; 27 EASES; 29 SONNY; 31 LADYSMITH; 34 TWIG; 36 SNEE; 37 FASHION; 39 MISSIS; 40 IONIAN; 41 REASONS; 42 SINGED; 43 GEE-GEE.

DOWN:—1 ROBINS; 2 MIRROR; 3 DAIS; 4 ELSEWHERE; 5 DEALT; 6 IDLE; 7 CRITIC; 8 STORKS; 10 GEMINI; 15 OUTFLOW; 16 KEYRING; 17 WIGWAMS; 18 NEWGATE; 20 IDEAL; 21 GLEED; 24 EASYGOING; 28 SASHES; 29 STAMPS; 30 NISSEN; 32 INNING; 33 HEINIE; 35 RASED; 37 FIRE; 38 NOSE.

and I very rarely go to a Hollywood film. I felt aggrieved, and I noticed it was affecting me in such a way that I did not even want to go to one of the few good American films which had come over among the dozens of bad ones.

We in Great Britain feel ourselves increasingly part of Europe. We just missed the complete ruin which overtook other European countries. As a general population, we were in the war, and we cannot now disassociate ourselves from the rest of Europe, which is cold and hungry. Our own food is adequate but dull, and our clothes the same. We are thoroughly tired of war restrictions, and yet we know that, for the general good, we must keep on with most of them. We have tried to send food and clothes to European countries which are worse off than we are. It was something of a shock, while we were having another Christmas of making do, to find that all rationing was off in the States, and to read about what was being eaten and worn.

Here again I find myself understanding the position intellectually and realizing too that your over-rapid demobilization has put you into great difficulties. I know that your housing problems are as acute as our own in the normal parts of Great Britain, though of course nothing like ours in the bombed areas. I also know that millions of you are adult, generous, and acting for the good of mankind. Such knowledge, however, does not always affect one's underlying emotions.

This is perhaps partly the fault of the newspapers on both sides, which seem to delight in making mischief for its own sake. But manners as between nations are as important as manners between people, and on both sides of the Atlantic there are those who should be slapped and put in the corner. I am quite sure that you feel the same kind of things about us, and I am terribly afraid that it will react on the British girls who have married American soldiers. I do hope that those of you who have a chance will go out of your way to help them. I also hope that the "nice Americans" will come soon. I think that if a thousand men and women would come here, determined to be ambassadors of good-will, and to smooth down our hurts and suspicions by personal contact—the only thing that we can be really sure of in this world—something could be done.

NAOMI MITCHISON

Argyll, Scotland, January 20

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